INDIAN LEAFLETS

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AND OTHER PAMPHLETS

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OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 1.

India's Appeal to the English Electors.

THE REASON OF IT.

324.54 Bom 1904 44636

INDIA AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "BOMBAY GAZETTE."

SIR,

The important telegram you published yesterday informs us that "a long and animated debate" took place in the House of Commons on the Indian Budget; that on the one hand Lord Randolph Churchill severely criticised Lord Ripon's administration, and threatened fresh military expenditure, while on the other hand he promised a Parliamentary inquiry into the India Act of 1858, and announced important steps towards reform in matters of Land Revenue and Forest. This is a great contrast to the languid Budget debates of former years. India is now evidently to the front in English politics. Will you therefore allow me, Sir, through your columns, to urge upon the native community the extreme importance of seizing the occasion to place before the English public the Indian view of Indian questions, and to make their voice heard at the coming elections? The exact time of the general election being known beforehand, there is now an opportunity which may never occur again. Ordinarily

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Parliament is dissolved, and a new House elected, with too short a noticef or India to get in a word ; but now the leaders of Indian public opinion have several months for preparation, and it will be their own fault if they do not get a proper hearing. The question is, how best to make an impression upon the English electors ? It seems that action might be taken in two ways :

(1.) Efforts should be made to inform and influence the general public, and especially the more important constituencies, such as those in the manufacturing districts of the north. Great public meetings should be addressed ; for among the masses there is a deep sympathy with India, and an appeal on her behalf is sure to meet with a hearty and generous response. After the example of the Cobden Club, pamphlets and leaflets should also be distributed in large numbers, giving brief but clear answers, from the Indian point of view, to the practical questions of the day : *e. g.* Why does India prefer English to Russian rule ? What is our interest in Central Asia ? Is the India Council a benefit to India or the reverse ? Can India be defended within her own frontier and by her own citizen soldiers ? What are the aspirations of her educated classes ? What are the causes which impede her material progress and the development of her trade with England ? On all such questions India knows best where the shoe pinches, and can tell England what is the policy which is the most just and at the same time the most safe. In the solution of these difficulties England is as much interested as India. For any one who has studied the question must see that India is the pivot upon which the whole foreign policy of England turns. If we have been in trouble in Afghanistan, in Egypt, in the Soudan, in Central Asia, it is because we have been led there for the supposed defence of India. If in these enterprises we have uselessly squandered many lives and much money, it is because we have not yet abandoned the old and mischievous policy of suspicion, treating India as a sort of powder magazine which no stranger can safely be allowed to approach. But if the English people will listen to wiser counsels, if they will understand that the real defence of India consists in gaining the good-will and approval of this vast but reasonable and docile population, then indeed the whole situation becomes changed. India, instead of being a point of weakness, will, with her marvellous re-

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sources, become a tower of strenth. By a just and sympathetic policy the friendly feeling now existing will become confirmed as a permanent national sentiment, and the two countries will be linked together in a partnership of common interest and mutual good-will.

(2.) So much with regard to an appeal to the general English public. But it is equally necessary that those constituencies should be specially addressed where the candidates are men who have shown themselves either friends or "unfriends" of India. Mr. Slagg, Mr. Digby, Sir John Phear, and others have performed most valuable services to India, and both from gratitude and self-interest the people of India are bound to do what they can to secure their return. It seems therefore natural and proper that they should assure the electors that the views held by these gentlemen are those approved by the intelligent classes out here, and that if these views are acted on the country will be contented and prosperous. On the other hand, there are candidates, like Sir Richard Temple, who do not enjoy the confidence of the Indian people; but who on the strength of the high offices they held out here, put themselves forward as authorities on Indian subjects, aspiring probably to higher office still. In such cases it is proposed to tell the electors that the people of India do not wish to say anything with regard to these gentlemen personally, or as to their general politics; but for self-protection they must repudiate them as friends of the Indian people and as exponents of a sound Indian policy. By such a procedure the hands of India's real friends will be strengthened while the wolves in sheep's clothing will be stripped of their outer garment before the eyes of an admiring public. And great indirect benefit will accrue if the results of even a single election can be affected. For candidates will them understand that they cannot afford to neglect Indian questions, and even those least altruistic by nature will think it worth their while to get up Indian questions and personally to conciliate the good-will of the Indian people.

ENGLISH ELECTOR.

August 9, 1885.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 7.

Is India a part of the British Empire?

Do not remain any longer under the delusion—if you ever have been under the delusion—of believing that you have nothing to do with Indian Finance. Sir Robert Peel, in 1842, with great sagacity repudiated the idea that the British tax-payer and the British citizen had no interest in the state of the Indian account.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

THE question which heads this leaflet is a startling one, but if the following propositions are pondered over, the conclusion will be reached, that it is a perfectly fair and reasonable question to raise.

FIRST.—The United Kingdom is a wealthy and prosperous country; India is a poor, a very poor country, now at last acknowledged to be such even in official papers, while the late lamented Professor Fawcett, than whom it would be difficult to name a weightier authority on this topic, has declared that "the recurrence of famines and other circumstances have at length led the English public to take firm hold of the fact that India is an extremely poor country."

SECOND.—This wealthy and this poor country have been joined in close partnership by a solemn Resolution passed by the House of Commons in 1858, laying down the principle that "the direct superintendence of the whole Empire must be placed under one executive authority." On the basis of this Resolution, and for the purpose of carrying it out, the Statute of 1858 for the better government of India was enacted, under which, *inter alia*, the Indian public accounts are directed to be annually laid before Parliament, and an audit of such accounts in England is provided for.

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THIRD.—In 1876, a further development took place unde Parliamentary sanction, and when the Queen of England wa proclaimed Empress of India, the bonds of connection betwee the two countries were drawn closer and tighter, justify ing the immediate expectation (to borrow the words of M Gladstone) of "increase of franchise or privilege, augmentatio of benefit, redress of grievances, and correction of abuse."

FOURTH.—Under this constitution, the United Kingdom ha through its own Government, plenary power over the adminis tration and finances of India. As the Marquis of Hartingto said in 1880, "in India, which is not a self-governin country, but governed in the main by this country, it is in th power of our Government to say, at any time it pleases, tha those duties (*i.e.*, the Indian Import Duties) should be repealed."

FIFTH.—Such plenary power is actually exercised on important occasions. Referring to a matter connected with Indian finance in its Civil Department, Sir Alexander Arbuth not, sometime Member of the Government of India, wrote a follows in an official minute :—"A measure seriously affectin the finances of India has been and is being pressed upo Parliament by a powerful section of the English mercantil community, and the general opinion is that this pressure has s far produced an effect, that at a juncture of the gravest financial difficulty and anxiety, the Government of India has been impelled to incur a sacrifice of revenue which the most ordinary considerations of financial prudence should have led it to retain, with the certainty that the present concession will only encourage further pressure."

SIXTH.—A similar and even more injurious exercise of that power, in the Military Department, is thus spoken of by Mr. Fawcett, whose writings form a never-failing repertory of accurate information and wise counsel on Indian topics : "It will be necessary fundamentally to change the present military system and to undo a great part of the work which was done,

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hen under the auspices of Lord Palmerston's Government, nd in spite of the remonstrances of every Indian statesman f experience, the army amalgamation scheme was carried out, nd India was compulsorily made a partner in all the costly ilitary arrangements of England." In another place the same dicial-minded statesman says, that the Indian Council, who animously objected to it, were told that their protests would time wasted, as "the amalgamation of the two armies had en made a Cabinet question, and was an accomplished fact." he results of this measure are declared in official reports to clude (1) an increase of £800,000 in the cost of the Indian rmy since 1884-85, "in most cases without the Indian Govern- ent having any voice in the matter;" (2) an average crease of £50,000 a year for the last eighteen years in the cost f the European Army in India "arising from changes over hich the Government of India has no control."

SEVENTH.—On the general results of the exercise of this wer, listen again to Prof. Fawcett. He says: "The well- own saying of one who held a high official position is only o true, that Indian finance has again and again been sacri- ed to the exigencies of English estimates."

Now, after considering these propositions, let the Electors the United Kingdom decide whether, in refusing to the dian Government the benefit of the Imperial guarantee, dia is being fairly treated as a part of the British Empire. 1858, even before the conditions on this point were so strong favor of India as they have been since her transfer to the own, a high financial authority, Mr. T. Baring, then member Huntingdon, asked: "When the English 3 per cents. were 95, and the East India Company were borrowing money at per cent., would it not confer a great advantage on India, and e a favourable introduction to the abolition of the double vernment to allow India to enjoy fully her union with this ntry?" "But" he went on to say "this was refused. "It said, "You shall be under the Crown for the purposes of

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power and honor (and profit, too, he might justly have added but as to the question of credit, you shall have none of o credit." The late Lord Halifax said in 1853, that "the sa thing should be done for India which we have done for so of our colonies, that by giving the guarantee of the Gover ment, a lower rate should be payable on the debt. This h I see, been already suggested by a noble lord in anoth place, and though in the present state of things I should n think of preferring such a request to the Chancellor of t Exchequer, the case would be very different if India w administered as any other dependency by the Government the country in the name of the Crown." Similar doctri was enunciated in 1858 by the late Earl of Beaconsfield, then M Disraeli, when he said :—"It is idle any longer to distingui between English and Indian Finance. If the Preside of the Indian Council—the Queen's Minister in Downi Street—should find it necessary to raise money by a pub loan to pay Her Majesty's troops in India, it will be idle, wh the dividends on that loan are due, if the Exchequer in India empty, to pretend that the revenue of India is alone liab Every gentleman must feel, immediately after such cha takes place, that the difference between the finances of Engl and of India cannot be maintained for a moment." Mr. Brig whom India recognises as one of her truest and staunch friends, in 1853 referred to Sir R. Peel's opinion about close connection of English and Indian Finance, but objected the Imperial guarantee, on the ground that "if we let the servi of India, after exhausting the resources of India, put their ha into the pockets of the English people, *the people of Engl having no control over the Indian expenditure*, it is impossible say to what lengths of unimagined extravagance they wo go." If, however, as has been shown, the people of Engl by their representatives "*have* a control over the Indian exper ture," Mr. Bright, too, may be taken as an authority for the sa view as that expressed by statesmen of such divergent ways

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Lastly, it should be stated that there was a Parliamentary ommittee appointed in 1873, though with a very limited scope. ut even that Committee with its limited scope ceased to exist ithout completing its labors in consequence of a dissolution Parliament. Having regard, therefore, to the periods at hich inquiries were held in the days of the East India Com- ny, an investigation has now been long overdue. And the ew Parliament cannot do a better thing than direct such an quiry at the very outset of its career, so as to bring to bear pon Indian affairs the minds of those "sanguine, warm, and en impassioned" men, spoken of by the great Edmund Burke the extract which heads this leaflet.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 2.

Is India lightly taxed?

With regard to this important point the English public are shown only the official view of the case. The view taken by educated and intelligent Indians is very different. At present the English public listen only to the tax-eaters. They should also hear what the tax-payers have to say. The other day Sir James Fergusson, late Governor of Bombay, addressing a large audience at Manchester on the subject of India, said "that at the present time her people were not heavily taxed and it was a great mistake to suppose that they were." This is very easy for an official to say, who drew his £10,000 a year as salary from the taxes paid by the people of India besides a sumptuary allowance of £4,000. But what are the real facts of the case? The following figures will give roughly an idea of the relative power of the Englishman and the Indian to bear taxation; and of the weight of taxation which they each bear:—

The total population of the United Kingdom may be taken at 36 millions and its income at £1,200,000,000, giving an average income of £33 per head. Upon this income a revenue of £87,200,000 is raised, being an average charge of about 7½ per cent. upon the national income. On the other hand the total population of British India may be taken at nearly 200 millions, and its income at Rs. 5,00,00,00,000 or say £400,000,000;

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giving an average income of Rs. 27 or, say £2 per head per annum; while the gross revenue of India is about £70,000,000, being an average charge of about 17 per cent. upon the national income.

Let any Englishman think what it is to live upon £2 a year, that is, upon three half pence a day; and let English working men tell Sir James Fergusson and his highly paid official brethren, whether in their opinion the poverty-stricken Indian ryot is "not heavily taxed" when upon his three half pence a day he has to pay more than double the rate paid in wealthy England.

The average income of the Indian taxpayer has been put down at Rs. 27 per annum, because that is the official estimate formed by Sir Evelyn Baring, late Financial Minister of India. But there is reason to believe that Rs. 20 or about 30s. would be nearer the mark. And it must be borne in mind that the land-tax and salt-tax fall in great measure upon the necessaries of the very poor; the salt, without which the vegetarian Indian cannot live, being taxed at a rate estimated by Professor Fawcett to vary from 500 to 2,500 per cent. upon the cost of production. The greater portion of the people of India have a bare subsistence. Dr. Hunter, Director-General of Statistics, says that: "the remaining fifth, or 40 millions, go through life on insufficient food."—(England's work in India, p. 80.)

India is ruled by the official and military tax-eaters and the voice of the people who are the tax-payers, is not listened to. That is the reason why Lord Randolph Churchill talks with so light a heart of two millions sterling of permanent additional military expenditure for India. This money will have to be paid by the Indian ryot out of his 3 half pence a day. Will the English Electors allow this? Professor Fawcett said of taxing India (Speeches, p. 18), "the great mass of her people are in such a state of impoverishment that the Government will have to contend with exceptional difficulties if it becomes necessary to procure increased revenue by additional taxation."

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Army, we find that in 1856 the cost stood at £12,000,000; in 1871 it was at £16,074,800; in 1879, at £17,092,488. And the debts and obligations of the country, which in 1856 stood at £57,764,239, entailing an annual charge of £2,332,620, advanced in 1871 to £119,000,476, entailing an annual charge of £5,000,474, and in 1879 to £145,836,440, entailing an annual charge of £6,229,792.

This portentous development of expenditure and indebtedness deserves a thorough investigation at the hands of the British Parliament. Such an investigation cannot be carried on satisfactorily in India. As Mr. Bright has said: "All the people with white faces, English, Scotch, Irish, and so forth, are nearly all in the service of Government. I am not now speaking of the handful of merchants, but all the civilians, engineers, military men, everybody—they are all in favor of, and have an interest in, patronage, promotion, salaries, and ultimately pensions." This is illustrated by recent events. In 1879 both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State declared that "immediate measures must be taken for the reduction of public expenditure in all its branches." Yet little really was done. In truth, as Mr. Fawcett pointed out, "the work cannot be done by the Government alone. It will be necessary that they shall be aided both by Parliament and by public opinion in this country." The reason why this is so was stated by Mr. Bright many years ago, and his words are in many respects as true now as they were then. "The great body of the people in India," said Mr. Bright, "have as we all know, no control in any way over the Government. Neither is there any independent English opinion that has any control over the Government, the only opinions being those of the Government itself or those of the Military and Civil Services, chiefly the latter. They are not the payers of the taxes; they are the spenders and the enjoyers of the taxes; and therefore the Government in India is in the most unfortunate position possible for the fulfilment of the great duties that must devolve upon every wise and just Government." In order, therefore,

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to strengthen, when necessary, the hands of the Government, and in other cases to direct them, in the great work of retrenchment of overgrown expenditure, a Parliamentary inquiry is indispensable.

Consider, next, another important point—and here we may avail ourselves of the language used in 1858 by a late eminent Prime Minister of England, the Earl of Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli. "No one," he says, speaking of the Anglo-Indian officers of that day, "can have been brought into communication with that large and valuable body of Her Majesty's servants without entertaining for them feelings not only of respect, but often of admiration. But, Sir, it is impossible to deny that if they have a deficiency, the quality in which they are deficient—and necessarily so from the career they have to run—is an absence of that feeling of responsibility which we, from our training in this House, all of us, to a greater or less degree, must possess. They live, too, necessarily, in a circle of peculiar opinions—opinions which they have adopted often from force of conviction, but sometimes also from the power of habit." Mr. Bright, too, has pointed out another but kindred shortcoming of British administration in India. "But you must remember," he says, "that all this great population has no voice in its own affairs. It is dumb before the power that has subjected it. It is never consulted upon any matter connected with its Government. It is subject to the power that rules over it in a manner that cannot be said of the population of any civilised or Christian people in the world." The defects here pointed out require for their remedy, among other things, a periodical Parliamentary investigation, such as used to be held in the days of the old Company. A reference to first principles, an appeal from local prepossessions, the introduction of a little of the bracing atmosphere of Parliamentary ideas into the despotism, however benevolent, of Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy, are as necessary now as they were before 1858, if, indeed, they are not now even more necessary than they were then.

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[redacted]ught as Mr. Baring, and Mr. Disraeli, Sir Charles Wood, d Sir Robert Peel. And it is worth remembering that in 1879 r. Bright, speaking of the then proposed loan, said: "It is t legally guaranteed by this Government, but the people who d the money believe that if the worst comes to the worst, gland will not see them unpaid, and will, in point of fact, stand ponsible for debts which India may be unable to pay."

What, then, would be the result, if that guarantee were mally given, which, according to Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Bright d Sir Robert Peel, already exists in substance? The nount of the debts and obligations of India in 1858 s £69,473,484, with an annual interest charge of £2,355,838, d was even then pronounced by no less an authority than r. Gladstone "to be more crushing in its proportions than the gantic debt of England." In 1883 the amount stood at 59,274,460, with an interest charge of £6,966,000. An im- rial guarantee may fairly be expected to reduce the yearly interest arge by at least a million and-a-half, and this without practi- lly and really involving any extra burden on the British x-payer. Furthermore, it will make the Parliament and ople of the United Kingdom more watchful of the actions the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy on account of the possibility, wever remote, of the danger indicated by Mr. Bright. That, o, will be an unalloyed benefit to India. On the other hand, e United Kingdom will also be benefitted. In 1858 Mr. ladstone said: "I cannot look back to the history of our wars in [redacted]nection with India, during the last twenty years especially, [redacted]g seeing that the power lodged in the hands of the Queen's [redacted]isers and the executive has been alike at variance with the in- rest of the country and the rights and privileges of the House Commons. . . . . But the objection does not appear stronger more conclusive as regards the people of India, than the bjection which arises from this system in its bearings upon this country and the House of Commons." If the Imperial guarantee is sanctioned; and a consequent subjection of the

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doings of the Indian Government to a more watchful Parl
mentary control follows, as it must follow; the particular dang
thus pointed out by Mr. Gladstone will be averted, and
affairs of India and those of the United Kingdom will stand
the same footing as regards the respective powers of Crown a
Parliament.

The point here discussed is not a recondite one. No spe
local knowledge, no mastery of dry Blue Books, no exami
tion of complicated statistics, are required to comprehend
The facts are easy to grasp ; the principles to be applied t
disputed and indisputable. Let the people of the United Kin
dom announce their decision upon it emphatically and autho
tatively. Let them show by deeds, that the question wh
heads this leaflet can be truly answered in the affirmative, *i*
in truth and in fact, and not merely in name, India is a part
the Empire on which the sun never sets.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No 3.

Why is Lord Ripon loved by the Indians?

1. Because he promptly put an end to the unrighteous second Afghan War which had sacrificed countless Indian lives and wasted twenty millions sterling of the Indian tax-payers' monies.

2. Because he reversed Lord Lytton's "spirited foreign policy"—the policy of shooting the Afghan and robbing him of his barren mountain land, so that the military and official tax-eaters might adorn their breasts with stars and medals, earn promotions and pensions, and convert the despoiled land into a new hunting ground for their successors.

3. Because he wisely reverted to the old and prudent policy of defending India behind her own natural frontier, believing it to be the safest for the permanent stability of the Empire as it is the most approved by the united voice of the intelligent classes of the Indian people and reconciled the Afghans whom the author of the second Afghan war had made the bitterest foes of the British.

4. Because he preferred to spend the tax-payers' monies

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on works of public utility calculated to open up and develop the resources of the country and advance its material prosperity rather than squander them on hazardous and profitless military preparations and enterprises which tend to retard domestic reforms and make the burden of taxation, heavy as it is, heavier still.

5. Because he gave solid peace and restored confidence in the sincerity and justice of British administration.

6. Because he restored liberty to the Vernacular Press by repealing the obnoxious Gagging Act which Lord Lytton had hurriedly, unwisely, and arbitrarily passed.

7. Because he instituted healthy land reforms to mitigate the growing hardships of the indigent peasantry and to improve cultivation.

8. Because he established a sound condition of Indian finance, endeavoured his best to protect India in its financial relations with England, protested against England's unfairly saddling India with a portion of the expenses of the Egyptian Expedition of 1882, remitted taxation and reduced the price of salt.

9. Because he took important steps towards extending primary education on a wider and more liberal basis and towards recognising the importance of private enterprise throughout the entire field of education.

10 Because he practically encouraged the revival and growth of indigenous trades and industries, the destruction of which is one of the great drawbacks of British rule in India.

11 Because he gave practical recognition to the principle of free discussion, listened to and respected Indian opinion, invited representative Indians to take a share in the delibera-

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tions of the Imperial Legislature and extended the boon of Local Self-Government in a spirit of liberality called for by the progressive condition of the people.

12. Because he strove to establish equality before the Law and manifested deep and generous sympathy with the Indian people and their legitimate aspirations.

13. Because in pursuance of a policy at once just and safe he cultivated amicable relations with the independent Indian Princes and Chiefs and inspired them with a feeling of confidence in British rule which was made markedly manifest during the recent complications with Russia and which forms one of the very best elements of security for the whole Indian empire.

14. Lastly, because he administered the affairs of India righteously, with a single eye to the good of her people, carrying out loyally the letter and spirit of the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, so as to secure the greater contentment and prosperity of the Indian people, earn their lasting gratitude and deepen their attachment to British rule.

These are the deeds that have endeared Lord Ripon to the millions of India. Can any deeds reflect greater lustre on the noble motherland of Liberty and Free Institutions?

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 4.

Costliness of British Administration.

The attention of the British public is earnestly invited to the following significant figures. The salaries and expenses of the Civil departments of the State in India which stood at £9,575,357 in 1873 grew to £11,038,504 in 1882; that is to say, they have increased by no less than £1,463,147 in ten years or at the rate of 1½ *per cent. per annum.* Again, the Civil furlough and absentee allowances which stood at £157,006 in 1879 have risen in 1882 to £222,642. The same phenomenon is observable in superannuation allowances and pensions. These have risen from £1,626,948 in 1879 to £2,182,327 in 1882. Now the greater portion of these growing expenses of the Civil administration are unquestionably due to the employment of an overwhelmingly costly foreign agency, the two branches of which are popularly distinguished in India as Covenanted and Uncovenanted. The Covenanted Civil Service consists of those officers who have been appointed either from Haileybury College or by open competition under the provision of Act 21 and 22 Vic. Cap. 106, S. 30, 32 and 64. The Uncovenanted Civil Service consists chiefly of those officers who have been appointed under the provisions of Act 24 and 25 Vic. Cap. 54 of

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1861, to offices in the Educational, Financial, Police, Revenu Survey, Salt, Customs, Forests, and other Departments o Government.

It is a literal fact that notwithstanding the constant agita tion which has taken place on this subject during the last thirty years the vast majority of appointments in the higher administration are still practically reserved for Englishmen. The Covenanted Civil Service is nominally open to all classes of British subjects alike but the unfair way in which artificial obstacles have been thrown in the way of natives of India by lowering the age, and by deranging the whole conditions of the competition, practically excludes them altogether. On the other hand the higher appointments in the Uncovenanted Service are in the first instance bestowed almost entirely by private patronage, and past experience clearly shows that so long as it is in the power of the local authorities to appoint their own friends, Englishmen in their interest will assuredly be preferred to natives of India. A reference to the Bombay Civil List, for example, will show that excluding the grades of Deputy Collector and Subordinate Judge which are practically reserved for natives, the number of the principal unreserved appointments, value Rs. 300 a month, or at 1s. 7½d. £292 10s. per annum and upwards—in the various Civil departments of the Bombay Government amounts approximately to 352. These Civil appointments are thus distributed: 208 are held by Uncovenanted Europeans; 94 are held by Military officers; 9 are held by Covenanted Civilians and 41 are held by natives of India. But these figures alone convey only a faint idea of the unfair way in which natives of India are now treated. All the 41 appointments referred to are minor and admittedly subordinate appointments of less than Rs. 500 a month in value. In the Department of Revenue Survey and Settlement in Bombay there are 58 appointments, ranging in value from

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about Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,100 per annum. No less than 56 of these appointments are now reserved for private patronage. 50 appointments are held by Englishmen appointed purely by favour and without preliminary examination or test of any kind. 6 appointments are held by Military officers who had no claim whatever to patronage of this description. Out of 21 higher appointments in the Sind Commission 8 are held by Military officers and 10 by Uncovenanted Europeans, all of whom have been appointed by pure patronage. In the higher grades of the Police Department 33 Europeans are employed and not one single native of India. In the departments of Salt and Customs out of 33 higher appointments 18 are held by Englishmen appointed by pure patronage while 5 of the lowest and least paid appointments are held by natives of India.

In all the other Civil Department of the administration the same general rule is observable. Every position that is well paid and influential is carefully secured for Europeans; while those positions that are less desirable and less well paid are grudgingly bestowed on Natives of India. This state of things is, it is admited, a grievous scandal and one that requires immediate attention.

It is now more than twelve years since Mr. Bright asked in Parliament for a return showing the number together with the salaries of natives in all departments of the State as compared with those of Europeans. It took six years of continued pressure to move the India office to submit the return to Parliament. And as there was no order to print it even this return has been securely shelved. Will no independent member of Parliament earn the heartfelt gratitude of natives of India by calling attention to a grievous wrong and providing a remedy?

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 5.

Mistrust Anglo-Indian Opinion.

Englishmen who have spent many years in India are not unnaturally accepted by their countrymen at home as authorities on all Indian problems. The latter have few or no opportunities of learning what the Indian people think or wish, and are consequently obliged to take on trust the opinions of those who pretend that they, and they alone, possess that knowledge. But there are many reasons why the opinions of these gentlemen should not receive the unconditional assent which is commonly accorded to them. It should be remembered that the personal and class interests of Anglo-Indians often heavily bias their judgment, and still more so the opinion of their class which exerts a pressure upon individuals more cogent and more unrelaxing than can easily be understood by any one who has not lived in India.

The personal and class interests of Anglo-Indians are frequently in direct conflict with the objects which all reformers, whether Indian or English, have most in view. The first of these objects is a more economical employment of the resources of India, which involves an extensive reduction of the costly English agency in the civil administration, and a ruthless overhauling of the military expenditure whose wasteful extravagance has no parallel in any civilized country. Neither of these results can be attained without a shock to many existing powerful interests. Can any one therefore be surprised if these interests, which are nowhere so powerful as in the capital, have hitherto opposed an insuperable barrier to all effective financial reform? The class which directly profits by this expenditure cannot be trusted to pronounce an impartial judgment on the first and most vital of all Indian questions.

Closely connected with this fundamental question is the substitution of Native for English agency in a host of departments where the latter is now almost exclusively predominant, and an

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entire remodelling of the existing Civil service, which under the existing circumstances of India is little better than a costly anachronism. The co-operation of Anglo-Indians belonging to the official classes will never be more than nominal when these objects are proposed to them, and often less than that. The extension of local self-government, which was so vigorously initiated by Lord Ripon, has for a similar reason been coldly supported by the official classes. They resent the diminution of their authority which it involves, and they rightly conclude that any further development of this policy must curtail the opportunities for the creation of new appointments and new departments in which their own class would appropriate all the more honourable and remunerative posts.

The judgment of the non-official portion of the Anglo-Indian community on Indian questions is subject to a bias of another kind, which is quite as powerful. These persons who have come out to India to make money have undoubtedly, like their official brethren, been in various ways of great service to India and her sons. They have stimulated the industrial activity of the country, and broken, it may be hoped for ever, the reign of routine and apathy. But as a class they have only faint sympathies with the intellectual and political progress of the Indian people, and they resent fiercely every attempt to place the more advanced members of the native community, whom they regard as a conquered race, on the same plane of political and legal privilege as themselves. Their fanatical opposition to Lord Ripon had its origin in this sentiment, and finds a parellel in the opposition of the members of their class to all the Governor-Generals and statesmen whose memory is dearest to the Indian people, to Lord W. Bentinck, Lord Macaulay, and Lord Canning.

Statesmen, we are told by Adam Smith, who knew nothing about trade themselves, not unnaturally supposed that merchants did, and accordingly turned to them for advice. The merchants knew what kind of laws suited best their own interests, and found on difficulty in believing that what was good for them must be equally good for everybody else. But this was a patent fallacy, for the interests of the merchant and the interests of the community are by no means invariably the same. The laws were accordingly framed to put money into the merchant's pockets at the cost of all those who consumed their wares. Let the statesmen of our day be on their guard against a repetition of this foolish error in their dealings with England's greatest dependency.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 6.

IMPERIAL STOCK-TAKING,

OR

Burke, Bright, Fawcett, and Lord Beaconsfield in harmony on an Indian Question.

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"OUR Indian Government in its best state will be a grievance. It is necesary that the correctives should be uncommonly vigorous; the work of men anguine, warm, and even impassioned. For it is an arduous thing to plead gainst the abuses of a power which originates from our own country, and vhich affects those we are used to consider as strangers."

EDMUND BURKE.

"What you want is a new and a wiser and a broader policy, and that policy, much fear, you will never have from the Government of Calcutta, until the people of England say that it is their policy and must be adopted."

JOHN BRIGHT.

THE late Mr. Fawcett, whose name is never mentioned in India except with respect and even veneration, used often to tell Englishmen of the duties which they owed to India and her people. India has now lost her noble champion, and must endeavour to raise her own feeble voice in support of those Englishmen who are speaking to their fellow-countrymen on her behalf.

The late Earl of Beaconsfield once declared that the key of India was in the House of Commons. Let the constituencies of the United Kingdom, then, direct their representatives in that House, now and then at least, to turn the key of the great Indian Bureau, and see with their own eyes what is going on in its secret and obscure recesses, after letting "a little more daylight" into it. During the days of the old East India Company,

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Parliamentary investigations into Indian affairs were a regular institution. In 1773 a most elaborate investigation took place. It was conducted by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, whose report was speedily followed up by legislation. In 1793 another investigation was made and remedial measures taken. As to the subsequent investigations the late Mr. Fawcett says: "The three Committees which were thus appointed before the Charter was renewed in 1813, 1833 and in 1853, collected information the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. This was so fully recognised at the time when the Committees were appointed, that many of the most eminent members of the House served upon them." And he afterwards adds: "If the questions which these various Committees had to investigate were at the time considered to be so important as to make it desirable to enlist the services of the most eminent members of the House, I think it can without difficulty be shown that there are now many subjects connected with the Government of India which not less urgently demand a most careful and thorough Parliamentary inquiry."

One great reason for such an inquiry is afforded by the fact mentioned by Mr. Fawcett as generally admitted, namely, that "when the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, many safeguards for economy were swept away, and the substitutes which took their place have proved to be comparatively ineffective." To illustrate this proposition a few figures will suffice. From a table furnished to the East India Finance Committee, 1873, by Mr. Gay, Deputy Controller-General of the Finances, it appears that, excluding the expenses on the Army and on Public Works, the cost of the Government of India increased from £14,964,867 in 1856 to £23,271,082 in 1871, and it appears from the later figures that in 1879 it stood at £33,352,852, that is to say, that that cost has more than doubled itself in less than twenty-five years, and the advance in the first fifteen years out of that period falls short of the advance in the closing eight years. Taking the figures for the

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 8.

Manchester's Interest in India.

There is a belief prevelent amongst certain English politicians that England has very little interest in the maintenance of her Indian Empire, that England keeps India as a matter of glory and as a matter of sentiment rather than as a matter of positive national advantage. Let us see how the case really stands. One of the prominent facts connected with the relations between England and India is that England's rule over this great dependency enables British merchants and manufacturers to secure the advantages which flow from free trade therewith. There is perhaps no feature of England's trade more worthy of note than that whereas English goods are more or less excluded from free competition in the Continental markets and in the markets of America or even in those of England's own colonies, by means of prohibitive tariffs, the East Indian trade of England, being practically regulated by her own fiscal policy, affords a boundless field for her own manufactures. The astonishing growth which British commerce and manufactures have attained in recent times has been very largely the result of England's political ascendancy in Asia. This consideration alone is enough to show how great an interest the people of England have in the maintenance of their Indian Empire. The maintenance of that Empire ie a necessary condition of the continued prosperity of the commerce of Eng-

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land. At all events it is certain that England's political supremacy in Asia has been one of the chief causes of the amazing development witnessed during the last quarter of a century in English trade and English manufactures.

A few figures would be instructive as showing the interest of Manchester in India and the value to her of the East Indian trade. By the census of 1881 the entire population of India was ascertained as under :—

	Population of British India and Feudatory States.
Adult Male Population	83,487,375
Do. Female „	81,113,386
Children under 14 years	89,291,060
Total	253,891,821

Considering that 8 yards of cloth of the ordinary width (40 Inches) would on an average suffice for a new suit that will last a year in the case of a male, 10 yards in all in the case of a dress for a female, and 4 yards in the case of a child under 14 years of age, it would require 667,899,000 yards or 379,488 miles length of the average width of cloth to cover the male population of India; 811,133,860 yards or 460,871 miles in length of the average size of cloth to cover the whole of the female population; and 357,164,240 yards or 202,934 yards in length of cloth to cover children under 14 years of age; that is to say, it would require 1,043,293 or more than a million of miles or nearly 36 times the circumference of the Earth, in length of cloth to satisfy a year's clothing wants of the two hundred and fifty millions of the people of India. But while on the one hand deductions must be made for the supply of coarser kinds to the poorer classes by the indigenous hand loom industry and the Cotton Mills in the capital cities and Presidencies of Bombay, Bengal and Madras, account must be taken of the finer descriptions of clothing in addition to the bare average estimated above, consumed by the well-to-do and richer classes of society

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in India. Balancing the one against the other, it may be said that to clothe the population of India Manchester must yearly manufacture cloth, of the average width of 40 Inches, measuring over a million of miles. And this is what she is actually doing, as would appear from the following table :—

CONSUMPTION OF BRITISH COTTON GOODS.*

1880.

	Million Yards.	Million lbs. Yarn.	Total value (Thousands omitted.)	Ratio.
India	1,812	48	£ 20,100	28·8
China and Japan	508	47	8,135	11·6
Turkey and Egypt	528	12	7,680	11·0
South America	491	...	6,740	9·7
Europe	313	94	10,330	14·9
West Indies	122	...	1,810	2·6
United States	78	...	1,750	2·5
Various	644	15	13,130	18·9
Total	4,496	216	£ 69,585	100·0

It will appear from the above that India stands at the head of all consumers of British Cotton Goods. The table also shows that the cloth supplied to India in 1880 was 1,812,000,000 yards or 1,029,558 miles in length of the average width. But though the supply just equals the bare average of the demand, there is scope for almost unlimited extension in the desire on the part of the people. For supposing that out of the 250 millions of the people of India only 1 million were to desire to possess themselves of 1 yard of cloth per head, then a demand would be created for cloth of that kind measuring 4,000 miles in length. The existence of such a desire is undeniable **but its gratification depends upon the purchasing power of the people.** This purchasing power can be acquired by them only if they are prosperous and well-governed, and have something left to them over what is necessary for subsistence. **Manchester's interest therefore lies directly in promoting the prosperity of her Indian customers.**

* See Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, p. 116, (Ed. 1884).

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"On the most selfish view," as Lord Macaulay puts it, "it would "be far better for us that the people of India were well-governed "and independent of us, than ill-governed and subject to us; that "they were ruled by their own kings but wearing our broad-cloth, "and working with our cutlery, than that they were performing "their salaams to English Collectors and English Magistrates, but "were too ignorant to value or **too poor to buy** English manu- "factures. To trade with civilized men is infinitely more profitable "than to govern savages. **That would be a doting wisdom "which would keep a hundred millions of men from "being our customers in order that they might be "our slaves.**"

The true interest of Manchester thus consists in *identifyi* herself with every measure which is calculated to give her Indi customers a good and economical government and which promot their prosperity and happiness.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 9.

21 Per Cent. Growth of Indian Military Expenditure in 20 Years!!

"It has been said with some truth that hitherto the subject of Army reform in India has been dealt with on the principle that **INDIA WAS MADE FOR THE ARMY AND NOT THE ARMY FOR INDIA.**" (Simla Army Commission Report, p. 111.)

In 1859 COLONEL SYKES, M. P., observed in a paper read by him at Edinburgh on the Financial Condition of British India in 1859-60 that "the Military charges have always been, and it is to be feared always will be, the chief drain upon the Indian exchequer. *Great as the pressure of the Military Charges is in England, it is nothing comparable with the pressure in India.*" Prior to the Mutiny the whole Indian army, Native and European, consisted of 2,54,360 men, costing **£11,463,000.**

In 1861 MR. SAMUEL LAING stated, (vide his Financial Statement, 27th April), "*I am sanguine that the total expen-*

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diture in the army may be kept at **£12,250,000** *or even brought down to* **12** *millions* in India and **2** millions in England." . . . . . It is not fair that India should pay the full cost of the Reserve Establishments in England. . . . . *If a fair settlement is made I look for a considerable further reduction on the Military Estimates.*"

In 1863 SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN stated, (vide his Financial Statement of 30th April 1863), "*the great interests of our nation in India require that the estimate for the Indian Army should at least undergo the sifting* to which the War Office estimate is subjected to *before it is laid before Parliament.* . . . . . I agree with those who are of opinion that, *with proper economy,* **£12,000,000** *be taken as the standard of the expense to be incurred India for the Military force of all arms.*"

In 1864 SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN further observed (vide Financial Statement of 7th April) that "*the tendency increased expenditure* . . . . . *will be productive of embarassing results, if it is not met by corresponding measures of economy.*"

In 1869 SIR RICHARD TEMPLE stated (vide his Financial Statement of 6th March) "since then (1863-4) the charge has slightly increased, notwithstanding that *the European force has been reduced by some* 7,000 *men.* It might be expected that *such a reduction of force would have caused a considerable reduction of expenditure. Instead of this, however, there has been an increase,* despite constant efforts to keep down the charges—*a fact which points to the need of redoubled economy.* . . . *Doubtless, the growth of army expenditure,* though slight and gradual, *requires check in every branch and detail.*"

In 1870 the CONTROLLER GENERAL OF MILITARY EX-

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PENDITURE in India (during the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Mayo) observed that "*Military history presents no instance of an army so constituted or of one so costly.* But unsatisfactory as is the present financial condition of the Indian Army, *the future prospect is far worse.*"

LORD SANDHURST (then Sir W. Mansfield) observed in the Viceregal Legislative Council during the debate on the Income Tax Bill as follows :—"There is one point to which I would invite the attention of the Council, that being the growth of non-effective establishments. . . . While distinguished authorities differ in detail, they are agreed in presenting a *picture of future liability* which *is positively alarming.* In short, we are threatened with *the serious danger of all our economies in India in the combative force being eventually greatly more swallowed up in the growth of the non-effective expenditure.*"

In 1871 SIR RICHARD TEMPLE stated (vide his Financial Statement of 9th March) that "though the *Military charges in England* do not show a further increase in the coming year, *their growth has not escaped our notice. It has occurred under the heads of overland transports, of furlough allowances and of stores.*"

In 1872 MR. SAMUEL LAING stated to the Select Committee on Indian Finance (vide Proceedings, July 2nd 1872) that "*the finances of India are constantly being sacrificed to the wishes of the Horse Guards and to the exigencies of English estimates.*"

In 1873 SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN stated before the Select Committee on Indian Finance (vide Proceedings, dated 7th and 11th March) that "*I am forced to admit that a large, and, as I believe, an unnecessary increase has taken place upon the status of the Military expenditure. There*

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is a great reduction required in the Military Expenditure . . . to revise the general Military arrangements in a manner *suited to the circumstances of the present time.* . . . . . We already, in fact, have an army of field officers, with very few subalterns. I also say, generally, that far too great a disposition was shown *to stop the mouths of the Indian officers with sweetmeats.* . . . . . The people of India have been let in for an expenditure of £10 or 11 millions much the largest portion of which has been entirely thrown away in . . . magnificent palatial barracks."

In 1873 SIR G. W. KELLNER (late Controller General of Military Expenditure in India) stated before the Select Committee on Indian Finance (vide Proceedings, dated 6th May) that "*the average cost of each officer of the Indian Army in 1862 was* **£447** *per annum and in 1872 it was* **£637.**"

In 1873 LORD LAWRENCE stated to the Select Committee on Indian Finance (vide Proceedings, dated 13th and 27th June) that "*India is overcharged in various ways.* I think *the great item in which it is overcharged is regarding the recruiting of the English Army.* That has become very expensive, and the *system is a system adopted for English objects, for English policy and it seems to be unfair that because it costs a large sum to recruit under these conditions, therefore India should be charged with it all.* . . . . If my partner in a commercial concern introduces a system which costs the concern double or treble what it needs to pay, I should be the complainer and should try to get rid of him. I would say to him that I paid because I must pay, but that for the future we would be separate." Again, * * * "*Would you for the sake of exceptional cir-*

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cumstances keep hundreds of officers who would have nothing to do ?"

So far as to the unimpeachable evidence up to 1873 of some of the highest financial authorities and experts on the great burden of India's Military expenditure and on the necessity of curtailing that expenditure by practising rigid economy and resisting extravagant Home charges. It is necessary to give the testimony of later financial authorities and quote other official statements bearing on the subject.

In 1877 SIR JOHN STRACHEY (then Finance Minister and now a Member of the Council of India) observed in the Viceregal Legislative Council, that "the Indian revenues are liable to have great *charges thrown* upon them *without the Government of India being consulted, and almost without any power of remonstrance,* and it is a fact the gravity of which can hardly be exaggerated."

1880 the SIMLA ARMY COMMISSION stated in their Report :—"It has been already mentioned that the Short Service System recently introduced into the British army has increased the cost and has materially reduced the efficiency of the British troops in India. *We cannot resist the feeling that in the introduction of this system the interests of the Indian tax-payers were entirely left out of consideration.*" (p. 81).

Again, "we believe that the whole system of the Staff Corps is radically unsound. . . . . There can be no doubt that *it has been the cause of serious financial embarrasements.*" (p. 109).

Again, "its practical working had a demoralising effect upon the army which has been ruinous to the State. . . . . It involves a considerable expenditure of public money from which there is little or no return."

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Again, "it appears to us impossible that the country can go on paying for officers it does not want." (p. 111.)

"We are compelled to come to the conclusion that the existing system of obtaining officers for the Indian army is not successful." (p. 114.)

In **1882** SIR JOHN STRACHEY and his brother, GENERAL STRACHEY, (who are now members of the Council of India) observed in their book on the "*Finances and Public Works of India*" :—"*another marked feature is the heavy cost of the charges of Military system*; these have involved *a large increase in the non-effective charges of the army*, through the necessity of getting rid of the superfluous officers of the old local army, and the great expense which has followed the introduction of the short service system of the British army. *However unimportant may have been the increase of efficiency consequent on this change, the necessity is none the less but the more urgent for adopting every reasonable measure for reducing the cost of the army.*"

And lastly, in the present year of grace 1885, SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN states (vide his Financial Statement of 7th March) that for the "additional expenditure caused by changes of organisation in the British army, the Government of India are in no way responsible. This fact, however, does not lesson the uncertainty which prevails with regard to what the demand on the above account may amount to, and *they are* in consequence, *a source of considerable anxiety to those who are responsible for army expenditure* in India."

Ample evidence has been adduced above to show how burdensome is the Military expenditure in India with an army consisting of 64,000 British and 1,25,000 Indian troops. What are the conclusions to be drawn from it?

(1) *That it can be safely reduced to an average not exceeding*

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14 *millions sterling.* (2) That the officers are too highly paid—in fact, *the cost of an officer has increased* 43 *per cent. in* 10 *years!* (3) *That the short service system and the system of obtaining recruits eat into the vitals of Indian revenue.* (4) That the growth of the "Non Effective Services" *is alarming* and requires to be effectually checked.

LOOK AT THIS GROWTH OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE!

	£
In 1857 it was	11,463,000
„ 1864 „	14,510,247
„ 1866 „	16,748,220
„ 1870 „	16,329,739
„ 1872 „	15,678,112
„ 1876 „	15,308,460
„ 1877 „	15,792,112
„ 1880 „	21,712,862
„ 1884 „	16,975,750

It will be seen that whilst with a *local European* army of 40,000 men and a Native army of 2,14,985 men, at the date of the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, the total cost was £11,463,000, with a reduced force it amounted to 14½ millions in 1864 and to 17 millions in 1884. **The Indian Military expenditure,** properly speaking, **has shown a growth of about 3 millions or 21 per cent. in 20 years or at the rate of £150,000 per annum** *compared with the standard figure of* 14 *millions!*

Will the British Electors allow this increase to go unchecked especially when the Secretary of State threatens India with an additional permanent burden of 2 millions? **Remember that this Military expenditure of 17 millions sterling absorbs very nigh the whole net land revenue of India** *mostly collected from the impoverished agriculturists who form* 70 *per cent. of the population, who do not possess, according to the Director General of Statistics, more than "half an acre a piece" (Imperial of Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV. p.* 168*) of cultivated ground, and* 40 *millions of whom go without one full meal a day!* **Can the burden of Indian Military expenditure be more crushing!**

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 10.

Why do Indians prefer British to Russian Rule?

1. Because the English are the freest and the most liberty-loving people in the world, while the Russians are the slaves of a military caste.

2. Because the aim of British rule in India is to elevate and educate the Indian people to an equality with the English nation; while the mass of the Russian people themselves is still kept, to a great extent, in a deplorable state of ignorance and slavery by the ruling military caste.

3. Because the principles of British rule in India, as authoritatively declared, are liberal and generous, laid down by some of the noblest sons of Britain—men like Lord Cornwallis, Lord W. Bentinck, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir T. Munro, Lord Macaulay, Sir C. Metcalfe, Lord Canning—and are intended to raise the Indian people, and not to crush them down; while the iron yoke of Russia is crushing not only to the races it has conquered, as those of the Caucasus, and of Upper and Central Asia, but to the mass of its own subjects.

4. Because the *Pax Britannica* has, for the first time in recent days, afforded that opportunity for national advance and improvement which in the divisions and distractions that preceded the advent of British rule it was almost hopeless to secure.

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5. Because the English people have generously estab schools and colleges in India, and appointed Professo teach to the Indians all those arts and sciences which raised England to glory and prosperity; while the Ru are suppressing their own colleges, and expelling their youths from the national universities. The Russian c nant caste is afraid of light and knowledge, and would sup everywhere all places of learning, if it could.

6. Because the British have given a Free Press to I with the result that that Press is already growing into a po while the Russian Government shackles its own Native P to curb which it has a highly organized Press Departm with its "Press" and "Censure" Committees, its "T Section," its "Preliminary" and "Subsequent" Censor ruthlessly suppressing even the slightest expression of fre independent opinion upon its acts.

7. Because the English rulers of India deliberately light, and officially invite the freest criticism of their acts measures; while the Russian Bureaucracy does everythin the dark, and shuns and suppresses public criticism.

8. Because the British Government admits the native the country to a share of power in Local Administrative Bo in Legislative Councils, and in the general Civil Serv the country.

9. Because, while Russian militarism has converted students of its own colleges and universities into Nihil ready to blow up their rulers, the Indian colleges, establi by the English in this country, are yearly turning out educ and enlightened men and scholars, who most fully appre English rule, are most loyal and devoted subjects of Gracious Majesty, ready to fight her battles, and are a same time the most earnest reformers of their country.

10. Because it is under the benign influence of English that the signs of a slow awakening of national life are seen India for the first time in its modern history, and the conti

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of the existing contact with the free and great people of United Kingdom is expected further to train the Indian n in the paths of national regeneration.

Because it is the deepest and the firmest conviction of educated Indian that not Russia, but England, in spite of ne shortcomings, aye, and all the serious defects of its rule, is Champion of Liberty, and the friend and sympathizer of ject nations.

2. Because, to sum up, the Indians appreciate English rty, English justice, and English progressiveness, and they t wish to exchange these good things for the Russian m of military aggression abroad and official repression at e.

he moral, therefore, is that England should never attempt, in an indirect way, to take a leaf out of Russia's book.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 11.

The Appalling Costliness of the Indian Army!!!

"If we turn to a consideration of our expenditure, it is to be observed that, **owing to the poverty of the people and their consequent inability to bear taxation, the Government of India is unable to supply the Funds required for the most necessary and desirable objects.**" * * * *

"It is also to be observed—and **that point should never be forgotten in any comprehensive view of questions of Indian polity**—that however sound may be the condition of Indian finance, if we look merely to the figures of revenue and expenditure either in the past or present, **the economic condition of the people of India, upon whose prosperity the continued soundness of the financial position must ultimately rest, is not altogether satisfactory.**" * * *

"**The poverty of the people of India is a fact which is notorious.** * * * *

That poverty is abundantly attested by the prevailing low rate of wages, by the statistics which show the pressure of the population on the soil, by the absence of accumulated capital, and by the rough calculation which has recently been made, that **the average income per head of population**

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is only Rs. 27 a year." (Despatch No. 247 of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated Simla, 2nd September 1882.)

LOOK AT THESE FIGURES AND THOSE!

1. Is it just that poor as India is, it should be unwillingly made to pay for the maintenance of a force of 1,90,000 soldiers, of whom 1,25,000 are Indians, at the **extravagant cost of £90 for each combatant,** when the Six Great Powers of Europe, with armies 15¼ times larger in number, obtain the services of a soldier at an average cost of only £33 per annum? In other words **it costs India 273 per cent.** more per annum for the keep of a soldier than it costs on an average one of the Great Powers of Europe. Remember also that in reality **each British Soldier in India costs nearly £200** per annum or nearly 600 per cent. more than in Europe.

2. Look at this table and ponder well over India's Military Expenditure :—

Annual Cost of EACH SOLDIER in India compared with that obtaining in the Army of the Six Great Powers of Europe.

Countries.	Army in Thousands.	Gross Annual Expenditure in Millions. £	Annual Cost of each Soldier. £	Remarks.
INDIA.....	190	17	90	Of these only 64,000 are Europeans; the rest are Native troops.
United Kingdom*	183	16	90	
France†	524	28	54	
Germany†	449	16	35	
Russia†	729	19	26	
Austria†	272	12	47	
Italy†	750	16	21	

* Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom from 1870 to 1884.—Thirty Second Number.

† Statesman's year Book of Facts. (1885.)

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3. India has no Naval force to speak of. Yet while each combatant of the combined Land and Naval forces of EUROPE, which consist of 31,85,000 men, costs £46, and of the WORLD, which consist of 32,20,000 men, costs £49, the cost of maintaining one **Soldier only** in India is £90 yearly! Can the cost be more extravagant?

4. Look again, ye British Electors, at this table and con it well:—

Annual Cost of EACH COMBATANT on Land and Sea in Europe and the World compared with that of each SOLDIER only in India.

Countries.	Army and Navy in Thousands.	Annual Gross Army and Navy Expenditure. £	Annual Cost of a Land and Sea Combatant. £	Remarks.
INDIA	190	17	90	India has NO NAVY to speak of, so that this is the cost per SOLDIER.
United Kingdom*	240	27	113	
France†	650	36	55	
Germany†	461	18	39	
Russia†	756	23	30	
Austria†	285	14	49	
Italy†	763	19	25	
EUROPE‡	3,185	147	46	
THE WORLD‡	3,220	156	49	

* Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom from 1870 to 1884.—Thirty Second Number.

† Statesman's year Book of Facts. (1885.)

‡ Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics. (1884).

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5. Look, however, at this ruinous Military expenditure from another point. India, with its gross annual wealth of 400 millions sterling, or only **40 SHILLINGS per head** of population, has to maintain each soldier at £90, when EUROPE, with its annual gross wealth of £18, and the WORLD, with its annual gross wealth of £19·6 have only to pay for each combatant, taking the land and sea forces together, only £46 and £49 respectively per year.

6. What does it mean? Simply this, that India with an annual gross income about **1-13th** of that of *EUROPE and* **1-17th** *of that of the WORLD* is obliged to pay yearly **for each soldier only** almost twice as much as EUROPE or the WORLD pays.

7. Again, while the total gross income of the United Kingdom is 1,247 millions sterling per annum, the expenses of its army and navy combined amount to 27 millions. The ratio, therefore, of the combined expenditure to the national income is only 2·16 per cent. Compare this ratio with that of India, and remember, please, that its figures refer to the army alone. Here, we have 400 millions as the national income and 17 millions as the amount of military expenditure yielding a ratio of 4·25 per cent. And now see what is the ratio of the Naval and Military expenditure per year to the annual income of EUROPE. With 5,391 millions sterling of income the expenditure is 147 millions or 2·72 only. And if you take the ratio for the WORLD it comes to 2·20. So that **the ratio which India's yearly army expenditure alone bears to its national income per annum is 190 per cent. higher than that of the WORLD at large,** Army and Navy combined. Was ever such an enormity seen in any other part of the civilised world?

8. Look again at this table and study the lesson it conveys :—

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National Wealth and Gross Army and Navy Expenditure of EUROPE and the WORLD compared with the National Wealth and Gross Army Expenditure of INDIA.

Countries.	National Wealth.*		Annual Burden of Gross Army and Navy Expenditure.		Remarks.
	In Millions. £	Per Head of Population. £	In Millions. £	Ratio to National Wealth Per Cent.	
INDIA (Army only)	400	2	17	4·25	India's Wealth is 40 **Shillings** only per **head** of population.
United Kingdom	1,247	35	27	2·16	
France	965	25·7	36	3·73	
Germany	850	18·7	18	2·11	
Russia	760	9·9	23	3·04	
Austria	602	16·3	14	2·32	
Italy	292	10·7	19	6·50	
EUROPE	5,391	18	147	2·72	
THE WORLD	7,062	19·6	156	2·20	

* Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics. (1884).

9. Will the fair minded British Electors be blind to this appalling enormity of Military Expenditure in India? Will they allow their representatives in Parliament to sit quiet with blinded eyes and folded hands, while men talk with a light heart of increasing the military burden already so crushing—and that too when India's inability to bear any further taxation has been acknowledged by statesmen of the highest repute, including Mr. Fawcett? Will the British Electors allow further burdens to be heaped on India? **Will they not raise their powerful voice to avert the further taxation of two millions** which the threatened Military expenditure will involve and which will have to be wrung out of the miserable pittance of 40 Shillings a year which is the average income of each individual of the population? **Yes India Expects this of the Electors of the United Kingdom.**

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 12.

The Native States of India.

THE Native States of India constitute an integral portion of the Indian Empire. They cover an area of half a million of square miles, and contain a population of 55 millions of souls. The precise amount of their total revenue it is not easy to state, but it is quite within the mark to say that it exceeds fifteen millions sterling. Large and small, the Native States number together between four and five hundred. In general terms it may be said that the paramount Power reserves to itself the control of all external relations between the several States, together with the right to suppress any outbreak that threatens to disturb their internal tranquillity, thus guaranteeing peace throughout the peninsula. For each Native State, or group of States, a British official is appointed, with the special duty of watching the administration and tendering advice. In cases of gross mismanagement the advice becomes a command, enforcible in the last resort by the penalty of deposition. But recent events have made it clear that the independence of a State will be respected even when its ruler has been dethroned. The Native Princes take rank among themselves according to the number of guns allowed in the salutes they receive when visiting either the Viceroy of India or the Governor, or Lieut.-Governor of a Presidency, or the Commissioner of a Province, or any representative of Her Majesty located at their courts.

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From the point of view of British Administration, the entire body of Native States may be divided into two classes—(1) those which are in direct relations with the Government of India, and (2) those which are in connection with the Provincial Governments. The Government of India retains in direct relations with itself four great States—Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, and Kashmir, and also the two groups of States known as the Central India Agency and the Rajputana Agency, each of which includes States not inferior in dignity to the former.

The tributes and contributions paid to the British Government have averaged a sum of £7,134,896 per year during the ten years from 1873-74 to 1882-83.

The annexation policy has been happily put an end to. Fear of its possible revival in one shape or another, under one name or another, should be prevented by proper declarations and avowals by the Viceroy on suitable occasions.

Rulers of Native States were at one time apprehensive lest the British Government should refuse to acknowledge their right to adopt heirs and successors in the event of lineal descendants failing. But all fears on this head were set at rest by Lord Canning in a proclamation issued in 1858 sanctioning their right to adoption according to Hindu and Mahomedan law and custom. As Lord Northbrook says: "Once there was some doubt as to our intention of respecting the independence of these States. Actuated by no unworthy motives, but from the mistaken belief that the welfare of the people of India would be promoted by the extension of British territory, the rulers of India were inclined to embrace every legitimate opportunity of annexing independent States. But this error was soon discovered; and after the Indian mutiny the Queen was advised to issue a solemn proclamation to the princes and people of India, in which Her Majesty declared 'that she desired no extension of her territorial possessions, and was determined to respect the rights, dignity, and honor of the Native Princes of India as her

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own.'* This proclamation, which was accompanied by concessions with respect to the adoption of heirs in case of default of lineal descendants, has given a solemn assurance that the Native States will be maintained in their present condition of independence under the protection of the paramount power of England. The result of this policy has been that the feeling of the Princes and Chiefs in Rajputana and Central India is thoroughly loyal towards the British Government, and in no part of British India did I find the feeling of the people for the British Government more cordial than in these independent States.* * * You must not suppose that because I have brought before you prominently the Native Princes of Rajputana that those of other races and religions are not worthy of equal praise. The late Rao of Cutch zealously seconded Sir Bartle Frere's efforts to suppress the slave trade in Zanzibar, where many of his subjects reside. The great Mahratta States of Gwalior and Indore are governed upon enlightened principles. The internal administration of Sir Salar Jung has been highly successful. The small Mussalman States of Central India and the Sikh principalities of the Punjab are not behindhand either in their material progress or in their loyalty to the British Government. The late Raja of Travancore,—a State which lies at the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula,—was a most enlightened ruler, and he was ably assisted by Native Statesmen, especially by Sir Madava Rao, a native of Madras, who, after

* The passage in full runs thus:—"We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honorable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions, or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment upon those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honor of Native Princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

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having been for some time the Minister of the Maharaja of Indore, was chosen by me to administer the State of Baroda during the minority of the young prince, and has amply justified my selection by the success of his administration during the last five years. Other Native Statesmen have done signal service in the improvement of the administration of the different Native States. I may mention Sir Dinkar Rao in Gwalior; Huzrut Nur Khan, commonly called the Khan Saheb, in Jowra; Mir Shahamat Ali in Rutlam; Pandit Mumphool in Alwar, and Nawab Sir Faiz Ali Khan in Kotah."

By their loyalty and attachment to the British Government, the Native States have shown that they deserve to be regarded as bulwarks of imperial stability. Enjoying undisturbed repose under the protection of the British Government, they have given proofs of the fact that they are the natural enemies of all that disturbs peace and order in the country. During the recent threatened advance of the Russians on the north-west frontier in March last, the examples they set of their loyalty in the offers they made to place troops, horses, nay, in the case of some of them, the entire resources of their States, at the disposal of the Government of India, are too fresh to need any lengthened description. "I am glad to find," said Lord Dufferin at Lahore in April last, when returning from the Rawal Pindi Conference with the Ameer of Afghanistan, "that wherever I go there prevails but one feeling among the princes and people of India, namely, an enthusiastic desire to rally round the Imperial standards of Great Britain the moment that complications, even though remote from our own frontier, threaten the peace of the Empire."

But while thoroughly loyal to the British Government, and prepared to co-operate with that Government in all works of improvement, Rulers of Native States feel that they have to submit to an undue sacrifice of their financial independence in matters which concern the interests of British monopoly revenue. The three questions which have most recently

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affected in an injurious manner their fiscal independence are those connected with Salt, Opium, and Abkari. Many Native States possess extensive salt works which, until lately, supplied their subjects with salt at almost a nominal price. But the measures connected with the equalisation of Salt duties and the abolition of the Inland Customs line in Northern India, and similar measures in Western India, have rendered salt very dear to the subjects of Native States. Sir John Strachey, the author of this measure, admits this when he says that " as an unavoidable consequence of the new system, and one without which the relief of our own subjects would have been impracticable, the people of the Native States in question became generally liable to the payment of the British Salt duty." In the Bombay Presidency the Native States of Kattywar have also been obliged to levy enhanced duties on salt, with the result that where people used to get their pinch of salt at the rate of 3 pence per Indian maund, they have now to pay 2 shillings per maund. The restriction and prohibition of the growth of opium also have had the result of adding to the revenues of the British Government at the expense of those of the Native States. The Abkari system of the British Government is still on its trial in their own territory, and yet the Government have insisted upon Native States in the Bombay Presidency to either lease their Abkari rights to the Government, or to introduce within their own territories the British Abkari system. It is much to be desired that the decisions of questions affecting the territorial or fiscal rights of Native States, and in which the British Government are directly interested, should be left to some independent tribunal and not to the officers of Government, who combine in themselves the functions of judge and jury. Such a tribunal would be free from the possible suspicion that the interested party decides in its own favour.

It would appear that the relations of Native States with the British Government would be placed on a much more satisfac-

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tory footing if the following principles are steadily kept in view :—

(1.) The existing Treaties should be well maintained, and no attempt should be made to alter them by peculiar interpretations or constructions. Should it be found necessary to alter them, no alterations should be made except with the full knowledge and consent of the Princes concerned.

(2.) The rights and privileges of the Princes should be scrupulously respected.

(3.) No honor and respect to the Princes should be grudged, but they should be accorded freely and even liberally.

(4.) No Native Prince should be deposed or degraded summarily or arbitrarily, but after full and fair enquiry, and with opportunity given to the Prince to defend himself.

(5.) The Princes should be given some idea as to what good government is expected of them. An indication should be given of the chief *criteria* of good government.

(6.) Petty, vexatious, and needless interference in the internal administration of Native States should be avoided. Interference should be exercised only when clearly the State is drifting into serious misrule.

(7.) British Residents and Political Agents and Superintendents should be appointed with special reference to their qualifications and experience. They should not have unlimited discretion, but should be kept within bounds by suitable instructions, laying down at least the guiding principles.

(8.) Civil disputes between State and State had better be tried and decided by some sort of international tribunal, or by arbitrators chosen by the States.

(9.) No Prince should suffer in any important matter by *one-sided* and *secret* representations made by the Political Agents. It should be the duty of Government, before passing any decision against a State, to allow the aggrieved State copies of reports made by Political Agents to enable it to offer such explanations in defence of its conduct as it may have to submit.

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(10.) The Prince should have *some* means of making his representations to Government without being in every instance compelled to go to a possibly hostile or biassed Political Agent.

(11.) The Princes should have reason to think that while disloyalty will be severely punished, remarkable loyalty and special good services will meet with suitable reward.

(12.) The proper education and training of the heirs of the Princes should be stimulated by its being generally understood that Government would be unwilling to sanction the succession of an heir who might be greatly wanting in these respects.

(13.) The Princes should be permitted, and even assisted, to improve their armies so as to be able to render them valuable auxiliaries in the defence of the Indian Empire.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 13.

THE POLICY OF MISTRUST AND SUSPICION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The people of India have always given signal proof of their loyalty and of their steady attachment to the connection that binds them to the English Crown. In the dark days of the Sepoy War, when a mutinous soldiery were in arms against their commanders, the people stood loyally by their rulers. As Lord Canning then observed in a letter to an Indian Prince :—"The Governor-General in Council wishes you to rest assured that the Government of India will not forget that if unhappily the mutineers and rebels of India are to be reckoned by thousands, the peaceful and loyal subjects of the Queen in India are numbered by millions." When not many months ago the Empire was menaced by a great Western Power, the educated community in all the great towns of India, from Lahore to Calcutta and from Calcutta to Madras, petitioned the Government that they might be permitted to serve as volunteers, so that they might have some share in the defence of the Empire. How has this loyal offer of the people been received by their Anglo-Indian rulers? The petitions were presented in April and May last, but up to this time the Government has not even deigned to give a reply. While the loyal prayer of a whole nation has been treated with cold disdain and

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unmerited contempt, every encouragement is afforded to European volunteering, and hardly a week passes when there is not some notification issued by the Government regarding the dress, accoutrement &c. of the European volunteers. This policy of suspicion colours the whole system of Indian administration. With the most unqualified professions of confidence in the loyalty of the people, with the most overwhelming evidences of such loyalty in all directions, and with the clear words of the Queen's proclamation breathing love and confidence through every line, the rulers of India do not hesitate to follow a policy, marked by an unworthy sense of mistrust and suspicion of the people. The children of the soil are excluded from the highest appointments in the Civil Department of the State, on the alleged ground of their unfitness, while the fact remains that even under British rule, in the Protected Native States, there have appeared a number of statesmen who have fully vindicated the capabilities of their race for offices of the highest trust and responsibility. But it is in the Military more than in the Civil Department of the State that this policy of suspicion is most painfully illustrated. The most veteran native officers who have grown grey in the service of the Crown are not permitted to rise to positions of independent command, and to complete their degradation, the youngest subaltern, recently arrived from England, is placed in authority over them. Such a policy is not only repugnant to the Queen's Proclamation but appears less generous, when compared with the liberality and confidence with which France and Russia treat their subject-races in Asia. In 1856, Sir Henry Lawrence wrote :—"If Asiatics and Africans can obtain honourable position in the Armies of Russia and France, surely Indians after a tried service of a century under England's banner, are entitled to the same boon—nay justice." This act of justice has not yet been done. The native officers are not trusted or honoured. They continue to be excluded from positions of independent command and from offices of trust and emolument. Even as regards military honours, the most heroic courage will not entitle the native soldier to military orders which are within the reach of every British soldier. At the last Soudan war, a Sikh soldier, named

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Gurdut Singh, displayed such conspicuous gallantry in warding off the fanatical attack of the enemy that the correspondent of the *Daily News*, who was present, spoke of him as being fully entitled to the high honour of the Victoria Cross. He never got the Victoria Cross ; and as a matter of fact, no native soldier, not even those most distinguished in the annals of British India, have yet been honoured with this high honour of valour and meritorious conduct in the field. Such is the policy of mistrust and suspicion which is followed in the Government of India. The children of the soil are not trusted. Their loyal offers of service as citizen-soldiers are treated with silent contempt. Their aspirations for military distinction are thwarted by the jealous exclusiveness with which they are kept out of every office that involves independent military responsibility. Now all this must be changed, not only as a matter of justice to the people of India but even for the sake of the internal consolidation of the Empire against the menace of foreign powers. It would be lamentable if the impression were to go forth that Indian patriotism was inconsistent with loyalty to the British Crown. The people of India would appeal to the British Electors to uphold the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation in the Government of their Indian Empire and to make that Government the means of the intellectual, moral and political advancement of the people, committed to their charge.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 14.

HOW IS INDIA GOVERNED?

INDIA is governed by a bureaucracy which monopolizes all power, enjoys the highest emoluments and has ever been known to offer the most determined opposition to the advancement of the people. When it was proposed by a high-minded Viceroy, in pursuance of the principles laid down in the Queen's Proclamation, to introduce greater equality in the administration of justice as regards Europeans and natives of India, the Indian bureaucracy, as represented by the Indian Civil Service, raised an outcry against what was the deliberate policy of the Crown and of the English people in this respect. A small and limited measure of local self-government, conferred upon the people by Lord Ripon, has elicited little or no sympathy, if it has not indeed met with ill-concealed opposition from the Indian bureaucracy, and upon their good-will the Government of India had reasons to count in support of a measure of imperial policy, and it is upon their good-will, the success of the measure, in no small degree, depends. When again a few years ago, "the internal liberties of India," to use the words of Mr. Gladstone, "were invaded by a law which placed the freedom of her native press at the mercy of the Government," the Indian Civil Service warmly welcomed the retrograde measure and accorded to it its willing support.

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Such is the nature and character of the bureaucracy, that governs the Indian Empire. Alone among the British possessions, India does not enjoy the benefits of representative government. The importance of popular opinion in the Councils of the Government is admitted. But the present arrangements for securing so important an end appear to have been made, as if with the express purpose, not indeed of admitting, but of excluding, under a specious show, the influence of independent popular opinion in the administration of the country. There are what are called Legislative Councils for making laws and regulations. There are four such Councils. There is the Council of the Governor-General, and then there are the three Councils for the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Indian gentlemen are appointed to seats in these Councils to help the Government in the work of legislation. They are however everywhere, whether in Bengal, Madras or Bombay or in the Supreme Council of the Governor-General, in a hopeless minority, out-numbered by a powerful phalanx of officials who necessarily support the views of the Government. They have not the power to assert their opinion effectually, except it be with the sufferance of the official majority. These Legislative Councils, in short, are so many official bodies that meet to register the decrees of the executive Government, and the position of the native minority is that of men who perhaps help to add to the dignity of the ceremony of law-making without in the slighest degree being able to influence the course of legislation, it, one way or the other. The members do not enjoy the right of interpellation, which is found to be so necessary even in free countries as a check upon the abuse of power, and they exercise no kind of control whatever over revenue and expenditure. As regards the Provincial Legislative Councils, the Budget is not even laid before them, for consideration. As regards the Viceroy's Council, the annual Budget of the Empire, unless it proposes a new measure of taxation, need not, except as a matter of favour, be brought up for consideration. This description may appear exaggerated, but it is literally true. The Councils are presided over by officials—the majority of members are officials—They do not possess the power of interpellation and exercise no kind of

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control over the ways and means of the province or of the Empire. Truly does Mr. Slagg remark that "it is difficult to believe that a Counci so constituted can either guage or still less that it can reflect the public opinion of the natives, or that they stand in the best position to ascertain and administer the true needs of the country." It is for the British Electors to decide how long this farce, this unworthy semblance of popular institutions is to last in India ? In the words of Mr. Slagg, "during the last twenty-five years there has been a really marvellous awakening of intellectual life among our Indian fellow-subjects" : and this national awakening, it may be added, has been followed by an unprecedented activity of political thinking and the rapid development of new-born political aspirations. New India would appeal to the British Electors to recognise the situation, to note the change, to mould the Government in sympathy with popular aspirations and to cement the union between England and India, by the systematic and careful enlargement of the liberties of the Indian people and by making them feel, by placing them on a footing of equality with British subjects in all other parts of the globe, that they are not aliens but that they form an integral portion of the British Empire.

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THE STORY OF GREEN'S DOG.

A POLITICAL PARABLE.

SCENE—A WORKING-MAN'S CLUB.

A WAVERER
A LIBERAL
A TORY

LIBERAL—Well, William, and how are you going to vote? Liberal or Tory?

WAVERER—I'm not so sure as I shall vote at all. It seems to me there's not much to choose between the parties. Liberals and Tories as they call 'em.

TORY—Why, man, it's the Liberals are ruining the country,—giving up everything the way they do.

LIBERAL—Yes; I remember that's what the Tories said when the Liberals *gave us our votes*. It don't hurt a country to give up what's fair and reasonable, instead of making a senseless fight about it first. Now the Tories never give up anything till they're forced to—and they never reform till they can't help themselves.

TORY—Why I'm sure this last lot of Tories have been carrying out the very reforms the Liberals were trying for.

LIBERAL—Oh! yes: they're all right as long as they steal their programme from us. But what will they do when they come to the end of the list? Why, it'll be like the man who borrowed my boots—and after a twelve month sent to say "*If you don't get your boots mended, I can't wear them any longer.*" The Conservatives 'll have to let the Liberals in again, if it's only to get hold of their best measures. There isn't a man in the Tory Party has an idea of his own that the people care for.

WAVERER—Why! what do you say to Lord Randolph Churchill? He's popular enough—ain't he?

TORY—Ah! he's a regular well bred one; a real gentleman he is.

LIBERAL—Well; he may be. For my part I care more for a real working-man.

TORY—Come now, you can't have everybody a working-man. You wouldn't have all the gentry mending the roads, would you?

LIBERAL—That isn't the only kind of work. A man may work with his head as well as his hands. We all have to use our brains more or less, whatever our work is—and all I care for is that a man should know his work and do it. We can't afford to have any idlers or amateurs in these hard times—with women and children starving about the place. If the "gentlemen," as you call 'em, undertake to do the governing, and don't know how to do the work, we poor chaps are the first to suffer for it.

TORY—Do you mean that a gentleman ain't fit to do the governing, then?

LIBERAL—Of course he is fit if he knows how; but not merely because he's a gentleman. Now look here. You're a carpenter—ain't you? Well, you wasn't *born* a carpenter, was you? You had to learn your trade. I know I had to learn mine. Everybody has to be trained before he's fit for real work. Why even the parsons, they say, have to be taught special and the doctors and lawyers have a sight of learning to go through. It takes some time to make a good stonemason, a watchmaker, a carpenter, or what not? It don't take long to make a idle gentleman. It takes a long time to make a doctor. It don't take long to make a quack. It takes a long time to make a Grand Old Man. It don't take long to make a Tory Secretary of State for India. Why—five minutes in India and a twirl of the moustache and there you are!

WAVERER—Well, suppose he don't know much about India: I don't see as that matters much. India never troubles me.

LIBERAL—Ah! well—perhaps you don't trouble yourself about it *now*: but there'll be trouble enough about India some day, if some of us don't look out. In good hands she'll do us a sight of good and if she's in bad hands it'ill give us a sight of trouble.

TORY—Why? what do you mean.

LIBERAL—Well, you see, India's a monstrous big country. They do say there's 250 millions of people there.

TORY—Yes: that's about it: 8 times the population of Great Britain and Ireland.

LIBERAL—Well, the people aren't very well off. They calculate the average income at three ha' pence a day. And then the poor things is taxed about 4 times as heavy as we are.

WAVERER—No! are they though! what a shame. Where does all the money go?

LIBERAL—Go where? why suppose it goes into the pockets of your friends the gentlemen. *We* don't get any of it. Well you see the poor fellows haven't much to spare for luxuries! But they do say if India weren't taxed so heavy and could run a bit freer, she might do a mighty lot of trade with England and of course that 'd do us all a lot of good.

WAVERER—Aye! that it would.

LIBERAL—Why, I've read somewhere that if only every one in India could afford one new cotton dress—it would keep the whole of Lancashire going for a year.

WAVERER—You don't mean that?

LIBERAL—Ah! but I do and you can make it out for yourself. Suppose you say four yards of cloth for each dress all round, that makes half a million miles of cloth. Well, that would set us going again in England, wouldn't it?

WAVERER—Yes; of course it would—but you was a sayin' India would give us a lot of trouble some day if we didn't look out.

TORY—Yes: and what's all this to do with Lord Randolph not knowin' his work?

LIBERAL—It's this way—the more India has to pay in taxes, the less she'll have to spend in trade won't

she? Now a feather will show which way the wind blows. This Tory gentleman, your Secretary of State for India, says he wants 20,000, more English soldiers there—and its clear that means—War!

TORY—Ah! by Jingo: we've got the men, and got the money too.

LIBERAL—There don't seem to be much money going now-a-days, and even if there were, that's no reason we should chuck away lives and money too. That ain't like an English gentleman. That's like a snob and a fool. They say every soldier in India costs Government £200—a year and if we are driven into a war with Russia you can guess what that 'll cost. And then how would you like a conscription?

WAVERER—A conscription? What's that?

LIBERAL—Why, every man obliged to turn soldier whether he likes it or not. How would you like to have to go out to India to be shot at, and leave your wife and children at home to shift for themselves?

WAVERER—But it ain't likely to come to that?

LIBERAL—Well, many people think it is. Any how it would be a very serious thing.

TORY—Why man we should whop Russia just like we did in the Crimea.

LIBERAL—Yes; and get as much good out of it as we did in the Crimea. Of course there'd be a lot of 'peerages going and Garters handed round among the swells. But we should have to pay the piper—and a lot Signor Moustachio would care.

WAVERER—Well, but if Russia tries to take India we must fight, must not we?

TORY—Oh! he's one of those chaps as want to give up India and everything else. "Perish India" that's what they says.

LIBERAL—It's you Jingo Tories that are going the way to lose India. We don't want India to perish. We want to make her strong and contented and then it 'll be no good for Russia or any one else to try to take her from us.

TORY—Well, and how are you going to do it?

LIBERAL—Much the same kind of way as I did with Green's dog. If you don't know how that was I'll tell you the story. You see this dog of mine. Fine dog, isn't he?

TORY—Ah? that he is, as fine a dog as ever I see—and seems very fond of you.

LIBERAL—Well, that's the dog used to belong to Green.

TORY—Nonsense. I remember Green's dog—and a wretched half-starved, ill-conditioned whining mangey beast it was.

LIBERAL—Ah! well this is the same dog—only you see Green didn't treat it on what I call LIBERAL principles.

TORY—Oh! I remember he used always to be a worryin' and ill-treatin' it.

LIBERAL—Yes when first Green got it, the dog didn't know him and was a bit snappy and snarly like—and Green got nervous with it and used to keep it always tied up—to make it attached to him and give it a love of home he said. He was afraid it might run away if he had it loose.

TORY—Aye! he was always thinking some one wanted to steal it.

LIBERAL—Yes, and how he used to quarrel with all his neighbours, suspecting them all, one after another. If any one come near the yard where that dog was Green used to rush out a cussin and a swearin till it was quite the laugh of the place. He could hardly abide to see any one coming down the street for fear they should be coming for his dog—and sometimes he'd take to throwing stones to keep them away. Well people would not stand that you know—and Green used to get taken into the Police Courts—and got fined for assault. That made Green angrier than ever, and he'd come home and wollop the poor dog—as if it was its fault—and dock its biscuit and food—to pay the fines 'cos he said he'd incurred them in the Dog's defence.*

WAVERER—Well it weren't surprisin the dog got thin and poor and snarley.

LIBERAL—What do you think Green did? He went and got a big collart made for the Dog, and had it engraved, "John Green, Esq." Nobody had ever called Green an Esquire before, and I don't know as the Dog felt much the better for it. However, Green he came up to the dog, looking as solemn as a Governor General—and presents the collar to him with a regular little speech. "I am about," he says, "to confer on you this decoration not only as a token of the amity and mutual confidence that subsists between us, but as an assurance both to us and to all the world, that our connection, that tie that binds us—shall never be severed. You are now raised to the proud position," says he, "of Dog to an Esquire. For the title which I have now assumed will reflect its lustre upon you. There are few Dogs that can boast so distinguished a mark of their master's favour. I trust that by your fidelity and devotion you may study to show that you are not insensible to it, while I, on my part, shall continue to you that protection and fostering care which in the past have raised you to your present enviable condition." Even this didn't seem to make the Dog happy. "Confound you," says Green, "I've a jolly good mind to give you a hiding!" For the Dog began to whine, hoping perhaps Green would give him back some of his biscuit.

TORY—Ah! I recollect what a fuss Green made about that collar—and how the neighbours laughed at him behind his back.

LIBERAL—Well the Dog didn't get much fun out of it—and he got worse and worse; and it was piteous to hear the poor beast howl at night. Green he took no notice, except now and again to get up and look out of the window and swear at him, and throw a jug full of cold water down on him.

TORY—I wonder the dog didn't turn on him.

LIBERAL—Ho! he was a wonderful patient beast—only of course he'd lift up his head and howl and whine now and then, so Green he took and gagged‡ the dog with a big thing like a muzzle so the poor beast couldn't make himself heard.

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* India taxed to pay for wars provoked by Tory Policy.

† The Queen proclaimed Empress of India, 1876, the first year of Famine.

‡ Lord Lytton's Act to stop the Liberty of the Native Press.

Well then Green got a lot of heavy chains* put on the dog so as he could hardly move. And lest he should bite him he took out some of his front teeth† —poor beggar!

TORY—Well I saw the Dog then, and I heard some people tell him—it was a shame to keep the Dog like that and he'd better turn him loose altogether.

LIBERAL—Ah! but Green said he'd given a lot of money for the Dog—and he shouldn't give him up. That he'd a right to do what he liked with his own, and that this was the only way to treat him. I don't know by the bye as Green ever exactly bought the Dog—and people do say that he found it wandering about without a master. Any how Green was wonderfully afraid somebody would steal the dog from him—and there was a man named Bear.

TORY—Ah! deals in tallow don't he?

LIBERAL—That's the man; well he had a yard that runs close to Green's—just a place for rubbish and a spiked wall between—and Green was always afraid Bear was tryin' to 'tice the dog away. I don't think Tiger—that's the Dog's name, would ever have run from Green to go to Bear. For Bear was well known to catch cats and dogs for the sake of their skins. However Green used to fume away if Bear so much as looked over the wall. I recollect once his pinching Tiger's tail to make him growl at Bear—and then he led Tiger to the end of the yard to show his teeth at Bear, and as a reward he got a tin medal made and put it round the Dog's neck. Still Green was always afraid of losing the dog so he employs a boy to look after him. The boy's wages‡ was paid out of the Dog's biscuits—and what with the scanty food, and the unkind treatment and the chains and things that dog looked about as ill—and miserable a crittur as you could well see.

TORY—I remember seeing him then. Green had better have turned him loose.

LIBERAL—No: Green had no right to do that; he'd undertook to keep the Dog—and he ought to have done it fair. 'Stead of which the poor beast was so ill and weak I was afraid he'd go mad—so I spoke to Green—and I asked him to let me have him for a while—and see if I couldn't get him right.

TORY—Did Green let you have him?

LIBERAL—Well, he couldn't well help himself—not knowin' what to do with the poor thing—so I took him in hand.

TORY—And how ever did you get him to look as he is now?

LIBERAL—Oh! I only just treated him *liberally*—let him have the full allowance of biscuit he earned; took off his muzzle—and the heavy chains, and when he got a bit accustomed to me, I gradually gave him his liberty. He soon began to come round; and put on flesh—and then his spirits began to rise.* Now, if he wants a biscuit or anything, instead of howling and whining as if he'd been half starved, he sits up and asks for it as a Dog ought to do.

You never see such an affectionate dog as he is—why, if any one was to do me a mischief, Tiger would pin him by the throat. *I* ain't afraid of any one trying to steal the dog or 'tice him away. He wouldn't leave me for any one in the world—and I believe he'd give his life for me if need be.

TORY—But ain't you goin to give him back to Green?

LIBERAL—Well. Green came to see me one day—and the dog went up to him, recognizing him like—and he just give a sniff at him and then he turned round and trotted back to me—and looked up appealing like to me as much as to say "you won't send me back to him, will you?" So Green sees it was no go—and called the dog a ungrateful beast and said he'd better stay with me and so he has. Now which do you think was the proper way to treat that dog, Green's or mine?

TORY—Well, you do seem to have done the Dog a sight o' good certainly. . . . But what is the moral of your story?

LIBERAL—The moral of my story is that Lord Lytton nearly ruined India because he treated her as Green treated his dog. But Lord Ripon changed all that; and tried to treat the people of India right and fair, and as we should like to be treated ourselves. This is the policy which is good for the millions of India and good for the working men of England. I reckon the people of India know best what suits them, and they have sent Delegates from Calcutta and Madras and Bombay to tell us where their shoe pinches.

WAVERER—Have they indeed? That looks like business.

LIBERAL—Yes, and the Indian Delegates are going to speak at the Meeting to-day. Let us go and hear what they have got to say.

(*Exeunt.*)

* License Tax, Forest Laws, Salt Laws.

† Disarming Act.

‡ Heavy cost of English army in India.

* Liberty of Press restored: taxation reduced, Local Self-Government granted by Lord Ripon. Natives apply by constitutional means for redress of grievances.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

GENERAL MEETING OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the members of the Bombay Presidency Association was held in the Rooms of the Association on Tuesday evening the 29th September, 1885, when the Council presented their report of the steps that have been and are being taken to interest the electors of the United Kingdom in important Indian questions at the approaching General Election. Mr. Dinshaw M. Petit, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the chair.

The HON. K. T. TELANG said—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, in proposing to you the adoption of the resolution of which I have charge, I think it will be convenient if I state to you in brief the history of the movement, of which you are invited here to receive a report this evening. You are all aware that there has been practically a dissolution of Parliament, and that a general election in England is now approaching. It was thought by many friends that this afforded a particularly suitable opportunity for the Indian views of Indian affairs being placed before the people of the United Kingdom. This opinion, however, was only floating about in our minds for some time, until it was stated with much force and clearness in a letter published in a Bombay newspaper and signed "An English Elector," which contained some practical suggestions. Accordingly the Council of the Association took the subject into consideration, and decided that the co-operation of the other Presidencies should be invited in this matter. The various Associations in this country have accordingly been written to, and from Calcutta and Madras and from Sind we have received assurances of warm sympathy. And it has been decided in concert with these Associations that attempts should be made to circulate in England in large numbers leaflets relating to Indian topics, and also a general appeal to the Electors of the United Kingdom which has been drawn up, and copies of which are now lying on the table. The decision as to the leaflets was come to, following a hint given in the report of the last meeting of the Cobden Club. The chairman of that meeting said—"In the month of November the Committee of the Cobden Club arrived at the conclusion that the best mode of reaching the masses was neither by speeches nor pamphlets, but by short telling leaflets which could be taken home and digested at leisure by the new voters and other electors. I wrote myself to a number of friends asking them to help in this work, and my letters met with a hearty response, for they realised about £2,500 for the special publication fund. This fund has, I think, been well expended, and nearly eight millions of leaflets have been circulated or are now in preparation." In pursuance of this decision, we have already sent up to England four leaflets on important Indian topics, copies of which are lying on this table before me, and some more are still in preparation. These leaflets are revised here by a special sub-committee of your Council, and will be again revised by our representatives now in England. This one step was early decided upon. But subsequently, from our energetic brethren of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, who had also been thinking of this matter independently of us, we received a communication which enabled us to take a further step beyond that which the Council of this Association had originally thought to be feasible. The Sabha had been able to collect together a considerable sum for helping on the movement, and in communication with them it was therefore decided, that efforts should be made to approach the electors of the United Kingdom, not merely in the way originally intended, but also by sending up delegates on our behalf to take steps in England to carry out the great object which we had determined upon. Accordingly three delegates have been nominated, one gentleman belonging to Bengal, one to Madras, and one to Bombay. They will take such steps as they may find to be appropriate for bringing Indian subjects to the attention of the British people. They will revise any leaflets that may be sent to them from here, draw up other leaflets themselves, and get others still drawn up by our friends in England. You will see the necessity of this step when you remember, that any leaflets that we could send from here must go by the end of next week, in order to be of any use; while our delegates in England would be able to utilize all the period between now and the beginning of November for this purpose. Such is an outline of our plans, in the carrying out of which we have been able to secure the co-operation of Mr. W. Digby, of the National Liberal Club. To carry out these plans is a work of great labour and considerable expense. But it is one also of great importance. It is only this morning that I saw the issue of the *Daily News* of London of the

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5th of September, in which two telegrams relating to Indian subjects are published—one relating to our Fawcett memorial-meeting, the other sent by the Indian Association of Calcutta, defending Lord Ripon against the attack of Lord R. Churchill. On these telegrams is based a leading article, from which I will read you one short extract to show you the importance of the movement we have commenced. The article says:—"It is of particular importance that Indian opinion should be ascertained and studied in this country at the present time. For there is a set of pretentious busybodies who, on the strength of having read a little Indian history, and imbibed a good deal of the worst sort of Anglo-Indian prejudice, are posing as the sole authorities on Indian subjects." There we have the opinion of one of the most influential of the members of the London Press showing that such a movement as we are now starting is urgently required. That ought to afford great encouragement to us in our task. In conclusion, Mr. Telang proposed "that this meeting is of opinion that earnest steps ought to be taken in concert with the Associations in other parts of the country to bring the Indian view of Indian questions prominently to the notice of the electors of the United Kingdom."

The Hon. Mr. BUDROODIN TYEBJEE, in seconding the resolution, said that it was strange that in the latter end of the nineteenth century they should be entirely without any representation whatever in the British Parliament. The next three months would probably witness a very fierce political contest. They were utterly unable in any way directly to influence the course or the result of that contest, and yet no thoughtful person could deny that they would be vitally affected by that result. They were absolutely without any representation whatever in the British Parliament, and yet their destinies would very materially depend upon the choice that the British electors might make of their own representatives. He confessed that the state of affairs seemed to him to be one calling for an immediate and a very careful consideration on the part of statesmen both in England and India. It seemed to him to be very much like an anachronism, but they must, however, deal with the state of things for the present as they found it. And although they had no direct representation in Parliament, they were not altogether wanting in means by which they might at all events lay their views and aspirations before the people of Great Britain. He had very great faith in the justice and love of fair play which characterised the English nation as a whole. (Hear, hear.) There was one remarkable circumstance with reference to their voice being heard, and it was that they could appeal to both the great parties in England. They had friends amongst Conservatives just as fortunately they had friends amongst Liberals. In fact, he need hardly remind the meeting that the gracious Proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen of 1858, which they all clung to, as a great charter of their political rights and liberties, was the handiwork and conception of one of the greatest Conservative statesmen, namely, Lord Derby; while on the other hand it fell to the lot of a great Liberal statesman to vindicate and effectually carry into practice those noble principles and the generous spirit which was breathed by that gracious Proclamation. He said that it fell to the lot of a Liberal statesman, and he need scarcely remind them that the statesman he had in view was their late illustrious and beloved Viceroy Lord Ripon. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried.

Mr. HORMUSJI DADABHAI proposed: "That to this end this meeting approves of the publication and distribution of a general address to the electors of the United Kingdom on behalf of this country and of leaflets and pamphlets on Indian subjects." He said the proposition which had been entrusted to him related to the distribution of a general address to the electors of the United Kingdom on behalf of this country and of leaflets on Indian subjects. The use of the word "permanent" might possibly mislead some people into supposing that the Association recommended the permanent revenue settlement of Cornwallis, but that was not what was meant. The document was necessarily couched in general terms, for the insertion of details of proofs would have marred its utility as a paper intended to awaken the general body of electors to a due sense of their responsibilities towards the people of India. The key to the whole address was contained in one short sentence "no new principles have to be laid down." They did not even ask for new concessions. The address simply called upon Englishmen to declare that the pledges of their Sovereign and Parliament were real and irrevocable. Such an appeal might at first sight seem superfluous and even absurd. Not so, however, on a close inspection of the matter. Was the famous statute of 1833 interpreted and enforced in its integrity? Did not a judge of the High Court of Justice in England lately assert that the Proclamation of 1858 had no judicial and therefore no binding force? It was not his intention to discuss the various topics treated of in the address. But he could not resist the temptation of referring to the subject of taxation. The leaflet was before the meeting. It did not tell a flattering tale. No. The taxes trenched upon the margin of subsistence. That was the testimony of distinguished servants of the Crown. And yet they were told by some Englishmen that the incidence of taxation here was by no means heavy, and that everything wore a roseate hue. Gentlemen, hitherto their English friends had advocated the claims of natives. While they were doing this, they were at the same time educating their conscience and fitting them for the discharge of their duties as citizens of a free State. They ought to be now relieved, at least partially, of their self-imposed task. The natives ought now to agitate for constitutional reforms with

the ample resources of constitutional ways and maxims. It was not only their right; it was a duty they owed alike to England and India. How else could they hope to influence the conduct of the electorate? "If things," said Burke, "are left to themselves, it was his clear opinion that a nation may slide down fair and softly from the highest point of grandeur and prosperity to the lowest state of imbecility and meanness without any one marking a particular period in its declension." Hear what another statesman said—George Canning,—"The doing right is not only the most honourable course of action, it is also the most profitable in its result." Above all England, of all countries in the world, has unmistakeably taught them to think that a Government gained more by redressing an evil than by continuing it. Those were the sentiments of Englishmen. Let them be diffused in every possible way amongst the great mass of Englishmen in the language of a Bright or a Spurgeon. That would call into being a force irresistible alike in its might and mercy. (Cheers.)

Mr. DINSHA EDALJI WACHA, in seconding the resolution, said that there prevailed such absolute unanimity among his enlightened countrymen in all parts of India as to the expediency of awakening an intelligent interest in Indian affairs among the British electors at this unique juncture that it would be superfluous for him to dilate on it even briefly. He would, therefore, confine his observations to the means by which it is proposed to awaken that interest. In a matter of this kind Indians must be apt learners. The electors themselves have a ready machinery of organisation. And knowing as Indians do how efficient and potent for good that machinery is, they have simply to adopt it for the purpose in view. If English candidates for parliamentary honours could gain the ears of their constituencies by means of electoral addresses, and if organised bodies could educate the voters by means of leaflets distributed broadcast over the country, why should Indians be slow to inform these parliamentary candidates themselves and their voters of the wants and wishes of India, and that too by similar machinery? The *raison de être* of the importance of distributing the address and the leaflets which would now be submitted to the meeting for adoption would therefore be manifest. Experience had taught them that reforms of a permanent nature, such as an improved constitution of the Government of India, severe economy in all branches of expenditure, &c., were always slow of growth. They could be achieved only gradually, and that too with the aid of sturdy British electors alone—electors of whose love of fair play they were so deeply convinced, electors who, in fact, were the ultimate arbiters of their destiny. The late Professor Fawcett observed, "Depend upon it, the conduct of the British Parliament will in no small degree decide the future of our empire in India." It must also be remembered that India appeals to British electors of all shades of opinion, though he could not refrain from expressing his personal view that their true ally was Liberalism or rather that their true allies were those persons whose creed was that Liberalism was the cause of national liberty. He asked the meeting to remember that in distributing the address and the leaflets the essential objects to be attained were :—(1) to evoke the sympathy of the electors, (2) to dispel their ignorance, and (3) to educate them as to the real condition of India and her people and as to the glaring defects of British Indian administration. Presently, as Mr. G. O. Trevelyan observed in his speech the other day, it would seem that the mass was indifferent to foreign politics. One reason of it, as an able journalists said, was the ignorance of geography of foreign countries. They had faint ideas of the locality of Peshawur and Rawul-Pindee, of Bombay and Calcutta, of Hyderabad and Mysore. Another, and the most important, reason was that questions of domestic policy occupied almost their whole attention. Is the Civil and Military expenditure increasing? Are the necessaries of life dear or cheap? Are bread and wheat cheap? Is beer lightly taxed? What is the growth of the drink bills? What is the ratio of taxation borne by the poor and the rich? These questions absorb almost their whole attention. But the questions on which Indians desire to interest the British are of a similar character. They wish to tell the electors why is taxation so crushing in India, why is salt yet dear enough, why salaries and pensions are extravagant, why civil and military expenditure is excessive and yearly growing. Thus the questions of domestic policy which engaged the attention of British electors were almost identical in their nature with those which occupied Indians. In short, India's domestic policy was also the domestic policy of England. The interests of England were indentical with those of India. A contented and prosperous India meant a wealthy and powerful England. It was on those identical questions that they must strive to awaken the interest of the British electors. They must bring home to their minds the value of India to England and of England to India. Presently there was great apathy to discuss Indian questions. But Indians had only to stir to its inmost depths the present apathy of the electors to be able to make their voices heard, and heard with effect, for their welfare. The speaker then quoted the words of the Duke of Marlborough, formerly the Marquis of Blandford, and the eldest brother of Lord Randolph Churchill :—"Events move with remarkable slowness in this country and nothing more so than popular convictions. It takes an enormous stimulus to move the English. They move onward like a glacier, a lifetime only makes a change. The inertia of matter is nothing to the inertia of the English mind. When it does move, however, its momentum is irresistible." In this feature of the growth and progress of English public opinion, Mr. Dinsha said he had great faith. The inertia presently prevailing about

India in England was quite intelligible. Let them strive their best by every legitimate and constitutional means to move the glacier. Let them unite together to give that "enormous stimulus" which the English mind stood in need of to correctly apprehend Indian wants and wishes. No doubt the glacier must be moved slowly at first till at last in the fullness of time its momentum was irresistible. There were signs all around them of the dawn of that political activity which has broken forth on India. Very much would depend on their own efforts, in the present and in the future, supported by kind English friends, to make that dawn burst forth into a bright day, the day that would witness their national prosperity—political, intellectual and material—in fact, that "proudest day" in English history also, to which the brilliant Macaulay referred with the insight of the unerring political seer half a century ago in words that are as imperishable as they are true. (Applause.)

Mr. G. KIRLOSKAR, in supporting the resolution, said that they should utilise the present very favourable opportunity for informing the British public as to the true condition of India; whether she was really as rich as she always was, and was still sometimes represented to be; whether her revenues were elastic or otherwise; whether justice was cheap and speedy or costly and dilatory; whether she was lightly or heavily taxed; whether her industries were advancing or dying out. These and other questions like these lay at the very root of the administration of the country, and it was of the utmost importance to them that the English people should entertain correct notions about them. If they once succeeded in interesting the English nation in these matters, he had no doubt that they would feel rightly and would sympathise with them. They had such ample confidence in the fair-mindedness and uprightness of the English people at large, their sense of justice and fair play for all their glorious traditions of liberty and equality, that they felt that they were quite safe in their hands as a baby was in those of her mother. (A laugh.) Only the mother must open her eyes and see for herself and recognize the baby as her own, without depending on interested statements or coloured glasses either. The way to create this interest was indeed difficult, but there was no occasion for despair. Even as it was they could now see that there was a growing interest in things concerning India. There was a larger number of English visitors to India, men unconnected with the services or with business who came out only to see India. More natives went to England in these days than formerly. Such frequent intercourse between the two countries could not fail to produce the desired result. The Russian advance, he said, in the direction of India, however unfortunate it might be in other respects, would [illegible] English people to take a more lively [illegible] than they had hitherto done. [illegible] there every reason to set about their work with considerable hopes of success. Only they must work in the proper direction and have sufficient patience and perseverence. The distribution of the general address and the leaflets and pamphlets was desirable towards this end. It was the English mode of doing such things. We must approach them in their own way. Otherwise we go away without any hearing at all. The address was rather long and might not be read by all the electors. But even if a few read it, it was so much gain to us. The leaflets being short and telling and not calling for continued attention or great exercise of patience, would be read more largely. We must expect that a good many copies of the leaflets will go for nothing, like seed thrown on barren rocks. But some no doubt will fall on good soil and will germinate in proper time. Our first call may not be heeded, our second may not be answered. But if without losing heart or hope we persevere in knocking, and knocking, and knocking, we have no doubt the door will be opened at last. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

MR. DINSHAW P. KANGA said: He had great pleasure in moving that the appeal on behalf of the people of India to the Electors of Great Britain and Ireland, placed before this meeting, be adopted; and he had no doubt, gentlemen, that after the lucid speech made by the Hon. Mr. Telang in moving the first proposition, and considering that the document speaks very well for itself, he would have no hesitation in according his hearty approbation to its language and sentiments. Indeed he felt that the eloquent terms in which it was couched left no room for any special advocacy of a production which bore on the face of it the impress of the skill and labour bestowed upon it. It came, gentlemen, with the sanction and approbation of the Council, after being carefully considered there and in a Committee of the Council by some of their foremost political thinkers and public men; and from its inception to its perfection in the present shape it has received the attention and been subjected to the scrutiny worthy to be bestowed on a paper of this kind. It was, therefore, the outcome of the mature deliberations of those on whose political sagacity they had been accustomed to rely, and it was now presented to them with their imprimatur in a form which left nothing to be desired. For it represented in clear, temperate and eloquent language, the wants and wishes, the feelings and aspirations, the grievances and complaints of this country, and this it did in a tone at once so lofty, sincere and trusting, that it could not fail to command a sympathetic and patient hearing. (Hear, hear.) Having said so much, he felt that he need say no more, but on an occasion like this, he could not resist the temptation of adding a few remarks which appeared to him to be pertinent to the movement with which this their prayer to the people of England was associated. It was a movement, gentlemen, so novel and unprecedented in their political history, that they might fairly con-

gratulate themselves on the happy instinct which suggested an idea so brilliant and so full of promise. And if they were to judge by the rare felicity they have had in having ample time to organise and focus public opinion, on account of an opportune interregnum of long duration between the dissolution of Parliament and the general elections, they should say that their enterprise had been begun under fair auspices and with happy auguries. An opportunity so appropriate and convenient, as they know, was very rarely to be had. He could not think of any such in the past, and if they had not availed themselves of this, they should have had to wait, perhaps for half a century, perhaps indefinitely, before another occasion so apt, had arisen, for ventilating Indian questions at English elections. But they were not only fortunate in the time they have had for preparation; they were also fortunate in being able to commence an experiment so praiseworthy at a time when India was prominently before men's minds, and was invested with greater interest than it ever was, to the English people at large. Events of great importance had happened which have made India a factor in the highest affairs of the English nation, and even in the politics of other European nations. The unparalleled manifestations of loyalty evoked by those events had left a lasting impression on a people who have always desired to rule India with justice, and who have found in those manifestations the best justification of a policy of unselfish promotion of the highest interests of the Indian people. (Applause.) In Parliament and on political platforms Indian questions have begun to fix the attention of those to whom but a decade ago they appeared barren and dreary; and they had every reason to believe that in the political campaign which would soon begin men's thoughts must turn to this distant dependency of the crown which had thus been brought into intimate association with questions of the greatest moment to which the new electorate would have to address itself. Gentlemen, under such a favourable combination of circumstances, it would have been a reproach to them, if they had failed to seize the occasion and improved their opportunity. The people of England, though minded to deal fairly and impartially with this country, could do little without an exact knowledge of their circumstances and their aspirations. The bulk of the English nation, free from the prejudices which have warped the vision of those who have taken the wrong and discredited view of Indian affairs, and imbued with the traditions of fair play and justice, could not but give a respectful and courteous hearing to a statement of facts from their point of view. All that we wanted was to excite and keep alive their interest, and frankly tell them what they thought and felt. The field had already been occupied. Already in the past there have been many good men and true, and there were many still to be found, to plead with the people of England on our behalf for their best interests and these deserved their sincere gratitude for their disinterested efforts. (Hear, hear.) But, there are also many, who had somehow utterly failed to grasp the situation, failed to be correct interpreters between the people of India and their rulers, failed to understand them and their feelings, and who perhaps with the most honest and conscientious intentions were quite untrustworthy exponents of the policy to be pursued in India. It was therefore all the more necessary, gentlemen, that there should be some accredited source of information, to which the puzzled English elector could turn—a direct appeal from those most intimately concerned and competent to speak, reminding him as much of his duties and responsibilities as of the achievements of the past, in connection with his splendid heritage. Above all, gentlemen, they must remind the people of England that there were many pledges most solemnly given, which still remained unredeemed, that the promises given by the Crown and Parliament to the people of India must be strictly fulfilled, according to the letter and the spirit, with exuberant good faith and honesty of purpose (hear, hear), and that they were not empty expressions of good will to be discarded from the range of practical politics, as had been unworthily insinuated by some. All these purposes, gentlemen, the address before them admirably fulfils. After dwelling on the benefits of the English connection with this country, and acknowledging some of the greatest boons which that connection has conferred, it proceeds to show how much still remains to be done, and particularly emphasises the importance of consummating the reforms, and practically conferring the rights guaranteed by the Royal Proclamation of 1858. In making that proclamation and the deliberate pledges given by their Gracious Sovereign and Parliament, the bases of their prayer to the English people, he ventured to think, the framers of the address had taken a very wise course. They could not be too cautious, gentlemen, in this matter. They ought to be extremely anxious to point out that this was no new political programme, but a humble petition, asking for the practical recognition of what had been already conceded in principle. The appeal before them, gentlemen, sufficiently acknowledged this, for it prefaced its list of Indian problems with this distinct avowal: "No new principles will have to be laid down. Your wish will chiefly be to enforce the principles that have been repeatedly declared by our Gracious Sovereign and Parliament, and binding upon your servants here in their administration of this great empire." The same idea had been expressed in eloquent and stirring words by Lord Ripon in the speech recently made by him at Bolton. "I strove," he said, "to make the Indian people feel that the noble policy which had been declared by the Crown and Parliament of England for the last fifty years was a reality, was not, as had some times been said, a mere ceremonia expression, but implied a

real and substantial engagement by which the British Government were bound, and which they were determined honestly to fulfil." This gentlemen was the true statesmanlike view of the case, and the more amply and generally it was recognised, the more sanguinely might we hope to see the realisation of the presage made by that illustrious friend of India in these words :—" The progress of India in the future will be more rapid and sometimes slower, but steady progress then will be, for I am very sure that the English nation will not allow the many millions whom God has entrusted to our care in India to be ruled for any other object than the promotion of their highest welfare, the utmost development of their best faculties, and the legitimate satisfaction of their just aspirations. These were the ends which I set before me, and I am confident that in striving to attain them I was pursuing the only policy which is worthy of the reputation of England and honourable to the character of her people." (Applause.)

Mr. Abdalla Meherali Dharamsi, in seconding the proposition, said it was only now and then that the occurrence of some important event roused the people of England to a sense of the heavy responsibility which attached to their rule in this country, and to the consciousness of the claim which the masses of its population had upon their attention. Their general apathy might, perhaps, be due to the existence of a notion in England that things in India were as they ought to be ; that no reforms were needed ; that no wants required to be supplied, no grievances to be redressed, no aspirations to be fulfilled. It was not strange that such a notion should exist, since Anglo-Indians, professing to speak as Indian authorities and with Indian experience, misrepresented to the British public the real state of things. Recent events had brought India prominently in the field of politics, and had awakened an amount of interest in India topics very rarely experienced. The coming Parliament would have to deal with questions of vital importance to India, and it behove the people of this country both in their own interests and as dutiful subjects of the Crown to lay before the English people the Indian view of Indian questions so as to furnish them with a true and certain guide. A direct appeal was, therefore, necessary. The experiment of making a direct appeal to the electorate, though novel, was worth making ; and the opportunity for making it was unique. It was their duty in making the appeal to acknowledge suitably what the people of England had done for the natives of this country, and the benefits they enjoyed under the benign rule of their beloved Sovereign. They must press upon the attention of the English people, besides certain questions of Imperial interest, the questions concerning the internal administration and economy of the Empire, and suggest such reforms as were urgently needed. It was right and proper that the address should be entirely free from party spirit. Whatever party came into power, be it Liberal or Conservative, a sort of mandate must go from the constituencies to their representatives that all questions concerning India must receive their attention, and must be fairly and justly dealt with. Their cause was good and just, and it only required to be rightly put to the constituencies of the United Kingdom to enlist their sympathy towards them. They asked for justice at the hands of a nation that was anxious to do justice, and he felt convinced that the appeal would not go in vain. (Cheers).

Mr. Jijibhai Edalji Modi, in support of the resolution, said they had been told how very fit the present opportunity was for making such an appeal, and he would direct their attention to the happy accident of their appealing to an electorate at a time when a large number of voters had acquired their rights after a hard-fought contest of more than fifty years, and which was thus in a peculiarly fit position to appreciate their difficulties. They had always had the sympathy of the masses of the English people. They wanted now something more than mere good wishes. They wanted their co-operation. And in appealing to them he felt as if they were going to their friends, united to them not only by many a tie of common interest, but also by that peculiar fellow-feeling which those who after a long struggle had won their cause were apt to have for those who were very earnestly endeavouring to acquire their rights. They wanted them to be the voice of the dumb millions of India. Having found but a faint and feeble echo of their complaints in Parliament they were as a last resource appealing to those who were most competent to coerce Parliament to change its policy of inattention and inactivity into one of intelligent interest and anxious inquiry into Indian affairs. He was confident the new electorate would not forget its great responsibility of seeing that in the coming Parliament. Indian questions are not entirely kept in the back-ground. They would understand that, in the words of Professor Fawcett, "the people of India can bring no pressure of public opinion to bear upon their Government," and that it is their bounden duty " to see with zealous watchfulness that India is not unfairly charged with many things that England ought to pay." In noticing an objection he said that if one would imagine that it was almost a truism to assert that a foreign rule, with the best and most honest of intentions and perfect goodwill, could not help being deficient both in sympathy and in discernment. And to show that it was so in fact he would quote a few words of Lord William Bentinck. He says, contrasting the Mahomedan with the English rule, " Our policy, on the contrary, is cold, selfish, and unfeeling ; the iron hand of power on the one side, exclusion on the other." These words were uttered so far back as 1837 when the relations between the rulers and the ruled were more cordial than now and he ventured to think they would hold truer still. This appeal and the concerted movement of which it was the result were without example in the history of political movement in this country. The speakre hoped and trusted the appeal would not be solitary of its kind. He felt convinced that they would gain nothing by mere isolated attempts and that it would be useless to work by spasmodic fits of activity. They could only attain their end by constant, steady, well-directed efforts. They could

only accomplish their purpose by patient unceasing agitation. That it was the same with the body politic as it was with the human body. They could not put life and activity into the one any more than they could hope to reanimate the other by galvanic shocks. The speaker concluded by observing that apart from its intrinsic merits he looked upon the appeal as a forerunner of many such, as emphasising the commencement of a new movement in the interests of their country, as a hopeful sign of renewed vigour of their political life that he had very great pleasure in supporting this resolution. (Hear, hear).

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

The Hon. DADABHAI NAOROJI proposed :—" That the following candidates on account of their services and opinions publicly expressed by them on Indian questions are deserving of the support of the Indian people :—The Right Honourable Mr. John Bright, the Marquis of Hartington, Mr. J. Slagg, Sir J. Phear, Mr. L. Ghose, Mr. W. Digby, Mr. W. S. Blunt, Mr. S. Keay, Mr. S. Laing, Captain Verney and Mr. W. C. Plowden. That the views regarding Indian questions publicly expressed by the following candidates cannot be approved by the people of India, and these candidates cannot be accepted as representing Indian interests :—Sir Richard Temple, Mr. J. M. Maclean, Mr. A. S. Ayrton, Sir Lewis Pelly and Sir Roper Lethbridge." He said :—I speak to the motion which is placed in my hands with a deep sense of its importance. Hitherto it has been, and it will be so generally, that the English people can mostly derive their information about India from Anglo-Indians, official and non-official, but chiefly from the former. But there are Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Indians. Some, but their number is small, have used their eyes rightly, have looked beyond the narrow circle of their own office, have sympathised with the natives, and tried to understand them and to find out their true wants and aspirations. Unfortunately the larger number of Anglo-Indians do not take such wide views, or such interest in the natives as would enable them to judge rightly of the actual condition of India. Now when we consider of what extreme importance it is to us that the people of England should have correct information of our condition and wants ; how almost entirely we have to depend upon the people and Parliament of England to make those great reforms which alone can remove the serious evils from which we are suffering, it is no ordinary necessity for us that we should take some steps, by which we may inform the great British public, on which sources of information they could rely with any confidence. As I have said the number of those who have the necessary true experience and interest in the natives is very small. It is extremely necessary that such should be pointed out by us. We also find that several Englishmen visiting India, as impartial observers, without any bias or prejudices, have often formed a more correct estimate of the position and necessities of India than many an Anglo-Indian of the so-called experience of twenty or thirty years. Even some, who have not been here at all, form fair and just estimates. It is not always that we can approach the British people in a way so as to secure the general attention of the whole nation at the same time. The present occasion of the new elections is one of those rare occasions in which we can appeal to the whole nation, and especially in a way most useful for our purpose. It is in Parliament that our chief battles have to be fought. The election of its members, especially those who profess to speak on Indian matters, requires our earnest attention, and we should point out clearly to the electors, which of those candidates who make India a plank in their credentials, have our confidence. We do not at all intend to influence the electors in any way in matters of their choice of the representatives that suit them best for their local politics. What we desire to impress upon them is, that so far as the important element of the deliberations on Indian questions is concerned, we desire to name those candidates who are deserving of our confidence and support, and on whom we can rely as would fairly and righteously represent our real wants and just rights before Parliament. It is with this object that I ask you to adopt the resolution before you. The first name in our resolution is the bright name of The Right Honourable Mr. John Bright. Now I do not certainly presume that I can say anything, or that our association can do anything that can in the least add to the high position Mr. Bright occupies. What I say, therefore, is not with any view that we give any support to him, but as an expression of our esteem and admiration, and of our gratitude for the warm and righteous interest he has evinced on our behalf. I would not certainly take up your time in telling you what he is and what he has done. His fame and name are familiar to the wide world. I may simply refer to a few matters concerning ourselves. Our great charter is the gracious Proclamation of the Queen. That proclamation is the very test by which we test friends or foes ; and it is Mr. Bright who first proposed and urged the duty and necessity of issuing such a proclamation, at a time, when the heads of many were bewildered and lost, in his speech on the India Bill in 1858. I should not tarry long on the tempting subject, for if I went on quoting from Mr. Bright's speeches, to show what he has done more than a quarter of a century ago, asking for us what we have been only latterly beginning to give utterance to, I might detain you for hours. I must, however, give you a few short extracts, showing both the earnestness and the intense sense of justice of the man. " The people of India," he said, " have the highest and strongest claims upon you—claims which you cannot forget—claims which if you do not act upon, you may rely upon it that, if there be a judgment for nations—as I believe there is, as for individuals—our children in no distant generation must pay the penalty which we have purchased by neglecting our duty to the populations of India." In his speech of 1853, on the occasion of the renewal of the E. I. Company's charter, referring to the miserable condition of the masses of India, he said :—"I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production

and that notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government of that country." When, may I ask, will our rulers see this "fundamental error?" I have purposely confined myself to his older utterances so far, that we may fully appreciate the righteous advocacy at a time when our own voice was feeble and hardly heard at all. You will allow me to make one reference to his later words, and you will see how he is yet the same man and the same friend of India. In his "Public Letters," in a letter written by him last year to a gentleman at Calcutta, he says:—"It is to me a great mystery that England should be in the position she now is in relation to India. I hope it may be within the ordering of Providence that ultimately good may arise from it. I am convinced that this can only come from the most just Government which we are able to confer upon your countless millions, and it will always be a duty and a pleasure to me to help forward any measure that may tend to the well-being of your people." The Marquis of Hartington also occupies a position to which we can hardly add anything. But as we have during his State Secretaryship of India observed his disposition towards a due appreciation of and fulfilment of the noble principles of the proclamation, and his emphatic identifying himself with the righteous Ripon policy at a time of crucial trial—during the excitement of the Ilbert Bill—we cannot but take this opportunity of expressing our thanks and our confidence in him. To assure you the more fully of this duty upon us, you will permit me to read a few words on this very topic from his speech of 23rd August, 1883. After pointing our the insufficiency of the administration, and the inability of India to afford more for it, he said:—"If the country is to be better governed, that can only be done by the employment of the best and most intelligent of the natives in the service. There is a further reason, in my opinion, why this policy should be adopted, and that is, that it is not wise to educate the people of India, to introduce among them, your civilization and your progress and your literature, and at the same time to tell them, they shall never have any chance of taking any part or share in the administration of the affairs of their country except by their getting rid, in the first instance, of their European rulers." I cannot refrain myself from expressing my deep regret that we are not able to include in our present list a name that stands pre-eminently high as one of our best friends—I mean Mr. Fawcett. But I trust you will allow me to give a few short extracts, as a warning and a voice from the grave, of one who had the welfare of the poor and dumb millions at heart. Though he is dead his spirit may guide our other friends, and our rulers. I give these extracts as specially bearing on the present disastrous move of imposing a permanent additional annual burden of some two to three crores of rupees upon us, and on the whole Indian problem. With reference to the Afghan policy he said in 1879:—"It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that in the existing financial condition of India, no peril can be more serious than the adoption of a policy, which, if it should lead to a large additional expenditure, would soon r or later necessitate an increase of taxation. . . The additional taxation which must be the inevitable accompaniment of increased expenditure will bring upon India the gravest perils." Again:—"The question, however, as to the exact proportion in which the cost of pursuing a forward policy in Afghanistan should be borne by England and India respectively will have again to be considered anew, now that it has become necessary to renew hostilities in Afghanistan." These words apply with equal force to-day when we are threatened with a large unnecessary additional burden. On the subject of the whole Indian problem, he said:—"Although there is much in the present financial condition of India to cause the most serious apprehension, yet there is one circumstance connected with it which may fairly be regarded as a most hopeful omen for the future. Until quite lately, India was looked upon as an extremely wealthy country, and there was no project, however costly, that India was not supposed to be rich enough to pay for. Now, however, juster ideas of the resources of the country and of the condition of the people prevail. The recurrence of famines. . . . have at length led the English public to take firm hold of the fact that India is an extremely poor country, and that the great mass of her people are in such a state of impoverishment that the Government will have to contend with exceptional difficulties if it becomes necessary to procure increased revenue by additional taxation." "Without an hour's delay the fact should be recognised that India is not in a position to pay for various services at their present rate of remuneration. A most important saving might be effected by more largely employing natives in positions which are now filled by highly paid Europeons, and from such a change political as well as financial advantages would result." "The entire system in which the Government of India is conducted must be changed. The illusion is only just beginning to pass away that India is an extremely wealthy country." "The financial condition of India is one of such extreme peril that economy is not only desirable but is a matter of imperative necessity." "No misfortune which could happen to India could be greater than having to make her people bear the burden of increased taxation." "In order to restore the finances of India and prevent them drifting into hopeless embarrassment, it is absolutely essential that the policy of 'rigid economy in every branch of the public service' which has been recently announced by the Government should be carried out with promptitude and thoroughness." This policy was announced by the Conservative Government, and now all this is forgotten and the Conservative Government are proposing to burden us with additional expenditure of two or three millions, or may be more! We cannot too strongly protest against this. In all the extracts I have read you will perceive the kind of policy which our friends have urged, and this test, or as I may shortly call, the Royal Proclamation policy, is the principal one by which we may discriminate friends from those who either from ignorance or narrow-minded selfishness advocate a different policy. Judging by this test, I may say that all the

other names in the first part of the resolution are fairly entitled to our confidence and to an appeal from us to the constituencies to return them to Parliament as far as our interests are concerned. Their writings show that they have a good grasp of our position and wants. I may refer to Mr. Slagg's views and efforts to abolish the India Council. Nothing can be more absurd than that in the nineteenth century and in England itself, the first home of public and free discussion upon all public matters, there should exist a body to deliberate secretly upon the destinies of a sixth of the human race! It is an utter anachronism. Mr. Slagg's laudable and persistent efforts to get an inquiry into the Government of India promises to be successful. Messrs. Slagg, Digby, Keay, Blunt, and Verney's writings show that they understand us and have done us good service. About Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose I need not say more than that he is the only one through whom the Indians will now have a chance of speaking for themselves. I have every hope that he will do justice to himself, and fulfil the expectations which India has rested on him by honest and hard work for the welfare of his country. We must feel very thankful to the electors of Greenwich for giving him such welcome and sympathy as they have done. They have shown remarkable liberality, vindicated the English spirit of justice and philanthropy, have held out a hand to us of equal citizenship and nobly confirmed the sincerity of the Royal Proclamation, by their action as a part of the English nation. Mr. Laing has, I am afraid, some incorrect notions about the balance of the trade of India, but we know that he understands India well and will continue to be useful in promoting our welfare. Sir John Phear and Mr. Plowden are known to us for their sympathies with us. Sir John Phear's book "The Aryan Village," shows much sympathetic study of the country, and its institutions, and he proved our friend at the time of the Ilbert Bill. He said :—"We have a higher duty to India than to consult the prejudices of this kind of a few thousands of our own countrymen, who are there to-day, but may be gone to-morrow. We have to govern that vast empire in the interest of the millions who constitute the indigenous population of the country." Mr. Plowden says, with reference to Lord Ripon's policy :—"I know it to be just, I know it also to be honest and earnest, I believe it to be sound and thoroughly practical." I next come to our second list. As I have already said, we do not ask the constituencies not to return them if they are suitable to them on other grounds. We only ask that whatever weight the electors may give to their other qualifications, they would not take them as fair exponents or trustworthy interpreters of India's wants and just wishes, and as favouring us by electing them. With regard to Sir R. Temple I need say nothing more than that he endeavours to produce the wrong and mischievous impression upon the minds of the English people that India is prosperous and increasing in prosperity, in the teeth of the early and latest testimony of eminent men and in the teeth of facts. Mr. Fawcett told that the illusion was passing away, while Sir Richard keeps it up! I do not advert to some of his acts in India, such as the strange contrast of 2lbs. rations in Bengal and the disastrous 1lb. ration famine policy here, probably to please higher authorities—his high-handedness, his treatment of the local funds, &c., &c. I confine myself to an utterance or two of his after leaving India. It is strange that a quarter of a century ago Mr. Richard Temple was able to take and express a remarkably intelligent view of the Indian problem. In connection with the Punjab he expounded the causes of Punjab's poverty and revival in his report of 1859 in these significant and clear words :—"In former reports it was explained how the circumstance of so much money going out of the Punjab contributed to depress the agriculturist. The native regular army was Hindustani, to them was a large share of the Punjab revenue disbursed, of which a part only they spent on the spot and a part was remitted to their homes. Thus it was that year after year, lakhs and lakhs were drained from the Punjab, and enriched Oudh. But within the last year, the native army being Punjabee, all such sums have been paid to them, and have been spent at home. Again, many thousands of Punjabee soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindustan, to their native villages. The effect of all this is already perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money and a fresh impetus to cultivation." Now, gentlemen, am I not justified in saying that it is strange, that what Mr. Richard Temple of twenty-five years past saw so intelligently, about Punjab, Sir Richard Temple of the present day does not or would not see about India, whence, not merely "lakhs and lakhs" but hundreds and hundreds of lakhs—thirty hundred or so lakhs are drained to England. He cannot, it appears, now grasp the problem of India as he did that of the Punjab. I cannot undertake to explain this phenomenon. What may be the reason or object? He alone can explain. As he is presently doing mischief by posing as a friend, I can only say "save us from such a friend." We cannot but speak out, however, unwillingly, that Sir Richard Temple is not a safe and correct guide for the people of England for India's wants and wishes. While Bright in '53, Lawrence in '64 and '73, Fawcett in '79, the *London Punch's* grand cartoon of *Disillusion* in '79 pourtraying the wretched Indian woman and children, with the shorn pagoda tree over their heads, begging alms of John Bull, Hunter in '80, Baring in '82 deplore the impoverishment of the masses of India, Sir Richard in a fine phrenzy talks in '85 "of their homes becoming happier, their acres broader, their harvest richer." "India is prospering, that there is no lack of subsistence, no shrinkage of occupation, no discontent with the wages at home, and in consequence no searching for wages abroad." And yet some light-hearted people coolly talk of sending him as a Viceroy here! No greater misfortune could befal to India! About Mr. Maclean I need not say much as you are all well aware, that he has been throughout his whole career in India a thorough partisan and an avowed and determined anti-native, with a few rare intervals of fairness. He can never

be a fair and trustworthy interpreter of our views and wishes. He off-handedly says in his letter in the *Bombay Gazette* of 9th June last: "Mr. Slagg recited the usual rubbish about the deplorable poverty and overtaxation of the Indian people." So you see, gentlemen, who Mr. Maclean is. He is a great man before whom the views of such persons as Bright, Fawcett, Lawrence, the *Punch*, and Baring are all mere rubbish! Mr. Ayrton's whole policy can be summed up in a few words—treat natives gently, but give them no posts of power or responsibility, have no legislative councils with non-official element, and if you have, put no natives in them. He says:—"The power of governing must remain, as it had hitherto been, solely and exclusively in the hands of British subjects going out of this country." "Why were we to teach the natives, what they had failed in discovering for themselves, that they would one day be a great nation." This un-English narrow-mindedness and purblindness is the worst thing that can happen to England and India both, and according to it all that the best and highest English statesmen, and even our Sovereign have promised and said about high duty, justice, policy, &c., must become so many empty words, hollow promises, and all sham and delusion. My personal relations with Sir L. Pelly at Baroda were, as you know, friendly, but the reason of his name appearing in this list, is that he was an instrument of Lord Lytton's Afghan policy, and that as far as his views may have coincided with the Lytton policy, he cannot fairly represent our views against that policy. About Sir Roper Lethbridge, I was under the impression that when he was Press Commissioner, he was regarded as one sympathising with the natives. But when the day of the crucial trial came, the Ilbert Bill and the Ripon policy, he was then found out that his views were anything but what would be just, fair and sympathising towards the natives of India. In addition to the names I have mentioned, I am required to mention Sir James Fergusson, and I cannot but agree to do so though with some reluctance. I have personally much respect for him, and I do not forget that he has done some good. In the matter of the native princes he enunciated a correct principle some eighteen years ago when he was Under-Secretary of State for India. Presiding at a meeting of the East India Association 1867, he said:—"It is earnestly to be hoped that the princes of India look upon the engagements of the British Queen as irrevocable," and I believe he consistently carried out this principle when here with the Princes of this Presidency. We cannot also forget that when acting upon his own instincts he did good in matters of education and social intercourse, and nominated to the Legislative Council our friends the Hon. Budroodeen and the Hon. Telang as representatives of the educated class, retaining also the Hon. Mundlik. You can easily conceive then my reluctance to speak against him, notwithstanding some mistakes and failures in his administration as Governor under official misguidance. But when I see that after his arrival in England he has made statements so incorrect and mischievous in results, in some matters most vital to India, it is incumbent upon us to say that he does not know the true state of India. Fancy, gentlemen, my regret and surprise when I read these words from the latest Governor of Bombay:—"At the present time her(India's) people were not heavily taxed, and it was a great mistake to suppose that they were." This is a matter of easy ascertainment, and the heaviness of taxation is repeated by acknowledged eminent men. Here are a few figures which will tell their own tale. The income of the United Kingdom may be roughly taken at £1,200,000,000 and its gross revenue about £87,000,000, giving a proportion of about 7½ per cent. of the income. Of British India the income is hardly £400,000,000 and its gross revenue about £70,000,000, giving 17½ per cent. of the income, and yet Sir James tells the English people that the people of India are not heavily taxed, though paying out of their wretched income, a gross revenue of more than double the proportion of what the people of the enormously rich England pay for their gross revenue. Contrast with Sir James's statement the picture which Mr. Fawcett gives in his paper in the *Nineteenth Century*, of October, 1879:—"If a comparison is made between the financial resources of England and India, it will be found almost impossible to convey an adequate idea of the poverty of the latter country * * and consequently it is found that taxation in India has *reached almost its extreme limits*." Again he says: "It is particularly worthy of remark that the Viceroy and Secretary of State now unreservedly accept the conclusion that the *limit of taxation has been reached in India*, and that it has consequently become imperatively necessary that expenditure should be reduced." (The italics are mine). Now, gentlemen, mark this particularly. When in 1879 the Conservative Viceroy and Secretary of State had, as Mr. Fawcett says, unreservedly accepted that the limit of taxation had been reached in India, the gross revenue was only £65,000,000, while the budgetted revenue of the present year is already £72,000,000, and we are now threatened by the same Government with an addition of £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 more permanently. This is terrible. Change the entire system as Mr. Fawcett says, substitute for the present destructive foreign agency, the constructive and conservative native agency, except for the highest posts of power, and you can have a hundred millions or two hundred millions with ease for purposes of government or taxation. This is the difference between Fawcett and Fergusson. Both are gentlemen, but the former speaks from careful hard study, the latter without it. Mischievous as such statements generally are, they are still more so when delivered before a Manchester audience, who unfortunately yet do not understand their own true interests, and the interests of the English workmen. They do not understand yet that their greatest interest is in increasing the ability of the Indians to buy their manufactures. That if India were able to buy a £, worth of their cotton manufactures per head per annum, that would give them a trade of £250,000,000 a year instead of the present poor imports into India of £25,000,000 of cotton yarn and manufactures from all foreign countries of the world. Sir James, I think, has made another statement that

all offices in India are occupied by the natives except the highest. I am not able to put my hand just now upon the place where I read it. But if my impression be correct, I would not waste words and your time to animadvert upon such an extraordinary incorrect statement, so utterly contrary to notorious facts. Why, it is the head and front, the very soul of all our evils and grievances that the statement is not the fact or reality as it ought to be. This is the very thing which will put an end to all our troubles, and remedy all our evils of poverty and otherwise. Let Sir James bring it about, and he will be our greatest benefactor and England's best friend. In concluding, I may lay down a test for our appeal to the electors, that whichever candidates are not in accord with the Royal Proclamation, and with the lines of the Ripon policy they are those whom we ask to be not regarded as trustworthy and fair interpreters of our views and wishes. The resolution has Mr. Blunt's name in the first list and Mr. Aryton's in the second. This will show that we are not actuated by a spirit of partisanship. Whoever are our real friends, be they Liberal or Conservative, we call them our friends. Differences of opinion in some details will no doubt occur between us and our friends, but we are desirous to support them, because the broad and important lines of policy, which India needs, such as those of the Proclamation and the Ripon policy, and the broad and important facts of our true condition, are well understood and adopted by those friends for their guidance in their work for the welfare of India. (Applause.)

Mr. PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA said at that late hour they must have made up their minds not to expect a long speech from him. He had listened with the greatest interest to the eloquent and vigorous speeches made by the speakers who had preceded him, for he found in their utterances the fulfilment of one of his most earnest political convictions. This movement was the beginning of the most important step they were going to take for the political advancement of this country. Going beyond Mr. Budroodeen, and also going a little way beyond Mr. Dadabhai, he would say the time was come when they must submit Indian questions to the keen and searching criticism of party warfare. Until that was done, Indian questions would never be thoroughly sifted in England, and what they asked for would never be fully understood or granted. They must ask the English people not to listen to Anglo-Indians only, but to hear both the one side and the other. Although no doubt Indian interests would sometimes be sacrificed in the heat of party warfare, the intellect and the conscience of England would move, as it has always done in the long run, in the path of true progress and beneficent reform. They might have to incur some incidental risk and make some incidental sacrifice, by submitting Indian questions to party warfare, but he was sure that in the end they would be the gainers. Most of them must have read the letter which recently appeared in the London *Times* from the pen of a Bombay correspondent. The subtle fallacies and superficial views which pervaded the whole of that letter must have proceeded from a typical Anglo-Indian These fallacies could never be detected by the English people, even if they were simply to sit down in calm deliberation and try to get at the truth. It was a very plausible but pernicious fallacy, which had unfortunately gained a very general acceptance, that Anglo-Indians possessing the experience of this country must be the best counsellors of England on Indian matters. (Hear, hear). The fallacies and misapprehensions of the letter he had referred to would never be exposed till they were examined by the sharp and sifting criticism of party warfare. The writer had described the political movements going on through the country as the work of ambitious agitators. Till Indian questions were made party questions, the English public would never find out that these movements were really something very different; that they were more like coming events, casting their shadows before, or, rather, as the poet says :—

> "Even now we hear with inward strife,
> A motion toiling in the gloom,
> The Spirit of the years to come,
> Yearning to mix himself with life."

That Mr. Mehta went on to say, was what was going on. (Hear, hear). They were the first efforts to realize the higher political life of the future. The typical Anglo-Indian could never understand that, and to him may be said as to the sophist.

> "And yet though its voice be so clear and full,
> You never will hear it; your ears are so dull."

Able and strong-minded as he may think himself be, he will never hear it till he learns to illumine the present with the light of the future. Their only salvation lay in bringing all Indian questions to the searching criticism of party warfare in England; and if that was done, even though they should have to make sacrifice, now and then, they would ultimately be the gainers. (Applause.)

The motion was then carried unanimously.

Mr. CUMROODEEN TYEBJEE proposed "that this meeting confirms the nomination of Mr. Manmohan Ghose, Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, and Mr. Ramaswami Mudliar as delegates from this country in England for the purpose of carrying out the objects embodied in the foregoing resolutions and for making generally known the views and feelings of the people of India." He said: The Bombay delegate was for several years past the editor of the *Indu Prakash* newspaper, and devoted himself very zealously to his work. He had had a successful University career and was a pleader of the High Court. The Bengal delegate was a barrister of long standing with a large practice in Calcutta. He had co-operated with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in establishing the East India Association in England. Since that he had been a member of the Committee and was now Vice-chairman of the Indian Association of Calcutta. He was also secretary of the Indian Union, a body recently started with the enlightened Maharaja of Durbungah as president. The Madras delegate was likewise an eminent vakil, and was known for his zeal in matters of political reform. They were all able, sober-minded, cautious and excellent men, and deserved the confidence of the people of India. For information on Indian subjects and the views of the people thereon, the English public had hitherto been mostly depend-

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ent either upon Government officials wedded to a particular policy or upon persons, who by a more or less prolonged residence in this country posed themselves as authorities on Indian subjects. Such men, who had never tried to approach the heart of the people or to understand their feelings, did India more harm than good. It would be the duty of the delegates to counteract the adverse influences of such men and to disseminate among the English public a true knowledge of India's wants and requirements, recommend the constituencies to elect such members as were really in accord and harmony with the feelings of the people of this country, warn them against those who were not really the friends of India. No time could be more opportune than the present for undertaking this work, and the representative character of the delegates would have at least as much weight and authority with the constituencies, as the opinion of those standing on their own single judgment. Englishmen would extend their hand of friendship to India when they would find her people struggling for a better political and social status. Nurtured as they were on liberal thoughts and ideas, they were never slow to recognise and appreciate in others the natural yearnings for gaining a voice in the administration of their own country. Every return of an impartial and just-minded candidate was a gain to the people of India, whose interests would be so much the better watched and protected.

Mr. A. K. SETTNA, in seconding the resolution, observed that he spoke from personal experience when he said that it might be taken as a truism that the British elector was an honest and fair-minded individual. It was not want of sympathy on his part that they suffered from, but it was rather his ignorance, most crass ignorance, and the misrepresentation of self-interested individuals that worked so much mischief and came in the way of justice being dealt out to them. During the Ilbert Bill controversy Mr. F. T. Atkins, who went to England as a delegate from the English workingmen in India, found to his cost that so long as he spoke upon the Ilbert Bill—that is upon what little he knew of the subject—the people of Great Britain passed resolutions against him. He (Mr. Atkins) therefore resorted to the simple expedient of improving on the ignorance of the people by telling them the grossest inaccuracies. There was one thing with regard to the Ilbert Bill controversy which struck him very forcibly, and it was that almost all who spoke against the bill prefaced their speeches by saying that they were the best friends of the people of India; but those who spoke in favour of it did not indulge in any such platitude. Sir Roper Lethbridge was indefatigable in saying that his only title to speak on that subject was that he was overpowered with love for the people of India. (Laughter.) All that they could say was, "Heaven save us from such friends." (Renewed laughter). If they had, therefore, their own delegates on the spot they would not be much in danger of such mis-representations.

Mr. GANESHAM NILKANT supported the resolution observing that the three delegates chosen were men of known ability and zeal. He had no doubt that they would do the work entrusted to them satisfactorily and would do credit to themselves and their choice.

Mr. P. M. MEHTA in proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman, said that they felt all the more grateful to him because he had attended the meeting at great personal inconvenience. He was sure the meeting would agree with him in saying that the value of their discussions and deliberations would be considerably enhanced by the weight the name of so esteemed and distinguished a public citizen as Mr. Dinshaw Manockjee Petit would carry. (Loud applause.)

The HON. K. T. TELANG, in seconding the resolution, observed that he need scarcely say that Mr. Petit was always ready with his help in every public undertaking. He was sorry on the one hand that their President was unable to attend the meeting in consequence of his absence from Bombay, but on the other hand, he was very glad that Mr. Dinshaw one of their Vice-Presidents was amongst them that evening. This was not the only time, Mr. Telang said, that Mr. Dinshaw had helped them at a great personal sacrifice on a great public occasion. (Loud applause.)

The chairman thanked the meeting for their kind response and the proceedings terminated.

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AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA TO THE ELECTORS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

It has pleased Providence to entrust the well-being of the many millions of the people of this country as a sacred charge to your keeping. In numbers we form one-sixth of the human race, your kith and kin, bound to you by all that is sacred and true, and yet we have no voice nor vote in the great Council of the State which determines in the last resort the policy of the Government which, on your behalf, holds sway over this land, and maintains peace and order. Shortly before the time when your rule was established in this country, we were passing through a critical stage of our history, and, as always happens on the eve of great impending changes, we stood on the brink of a most uncertain future which, our national traditions of civil freedom and higher education seemed powerless to avert. It was then that the high purpose which has knit together your great nation with ours first brought about that connection which in its ultimate development and by the noble aims to which it has been made subservient by the wisest exponents of your beneficent policy towards this country, has shed a lustre on the British name, while it has tended to secure for us peace and some of the greatest blessings of a settled government. The principle of equal and just laws, the seeds of education sown throughout the land, the precious freedom of thought and action allowed to us as individuals and associated bodies, the noble influence of your language and literature, the discipline of the institutions of self-government conferred upon the people, your solicitude for promoting our material advance, the breathing of a new spirit of renovated life, and the principle of union fostered by your imperial rule,—these have contributed, each in its own degree, to reconcile us to the sway of a nation rich with the inheritance of freedom, and ages of unimpeded progress. Though, under present circumstances, we are allowed no voice in the determination of our political destinies, we feel that we are not entirely helpless as long as we can appeal to you, the enfranchised electors of Great Britain and Ireland.

2. This confidence on our part is justified by the repeated proofs afforded in the chequered history of the past one hundred years of the great solicitude, when effectively roused to your duty towards this country, which you have felt for our well-being, so indissolubly united with your own. We have seen how, through your representatives in Parliament, you turned to noble account the enterprise of your merchant traders, how when these early adventurers exceeded their powers, you interfered to regulate their higher functions, and scrupled not to denounce the highest servants of the Company in India. We know how you insisted on the abolition of trade monopolies, when these became incompatible with the due discharge of higher trusts, how, at each recurring interval, you devised measures for the promotion of education and the development of material resources, how you opened the Civil Service to competition, how, after the great Mutiny, you protected our Princes and Chiefs from threatened destruction, and selected a few of our best men to high judicial offices, and associated us to some extent in the work of Government as Municipal Commissioners, jurors and assessors and as members of the Legislative Councils. Nearly twenty-five years have elapsed since the last of these great reforms was accomplished, and we feel satisfied that you will agree with us in thinking that the time has now arrived for a fresh advance, after a due enquiry into the net results of the changes that have taken place during the interval.

3. The present is a most opportune moment for thus taking stock of the results which have been achieved in the past. More vividly than on any previous occasion, the value of the connection which subsists between the two countries has been forced upon your attention by recent events. India forms the pivot round which moves the entire imperial or foreign policy of England. Your interests in the fortunes of Central Asia, in Turkey, in Egypt, in the Soudan, in South Africa, in distant China, all centre round your care for the possession of this country. For the first time your insulation which had often been regarded as justifying indifference to the movements of the great European powers has ceased to exist, and some of those powers have extended the limits of their possessions within close vicinity to your Indian frontiers. How to safe-guard your Indian interests is the question of the hour, which you are called upon to decide in a way worthy of your place among nations. Indian topics will form the chief planks of your political platform, on which in a thousand places those who lead and form public opinion will address you, when they seek your votes. Your constituencies have been by recent legislation increased in numbers and strength, and now, more than ever before, the great mass of the working classes in town and country will realise both their

powers and responsibilities. These special considerations encourage us to hope that the work, so nobly undertaken in the past, will be continued by you in the present with a full sense of the sacred trust laid upon you. No new principles have to be laid down. Your work will chiefly be to enforce the principles that have been repeatedly declared by our Gracious Sovereign and Parliament as binding upon your servants here in their administration of this great empire.

4. Manifold pledges most solemnly given remain unredeemed, and we have to look to you for their fulfilment. The settlement of the land question on a permanent footing, though ordered by many of the highest authorities twenty years ago, is still as far from being satisfactorily effected as ever it was before. The civil and military services, both covenanted and uncovenanted, remain practically closed to the Natives of the country in their higher grades, causing an exhausing and serious material and moral drain on the country. The unequal distribution of the home charges is still unrectified. The industrial development of the country is to a great extent in foreign hands, the Legislative Councils are as unrepresentative as before of Native interests. The visitations of famine are unchecked in their severity. The people are disarmed and dangerously demartialized, until the country is deprived of its true defence. The taxes are trenching upon the margin of subsistence, while no national reserve of men or means exist to meet outside attacks, and the practical administration of Government being foreign is naturally to a great extent undiscerning and unsympathetic. These great evils exist and grow side by side with a keener consciousness on the part of the people of the injustice involved, and a diminution of the warm attachment which the Anglo-Indian ruling classes once felt for the people of this country. These elements of weakness at home are complicated by threats of attack from abroad. You will thus see that the situation is as critical as ever it could be, and it behoves you to give thought to it, and enforce the necessary changes which a detailed and thorough enquire may suggest to your wisdom as necessary.

5. Our first prayer to you, therefore, is that you will require a pledge, from every candidate who seeks your confidence, to the effect that he will, when the next Parliament meets, press for a commission of enquiry to be appointed at once, according to former practice, and also for a periodical repetition of such inquiries hereafter. The present Ministry have admitted the necessity of such an enquiry, and the voice of English public opinion supports our demand. Therefore, whatever party comes into power, we earnestly, pray that you will insist through your representatives that this our first prayer shall be under all circumstances, conceeded by men of all parties.

6. In view of the threatened troubles in the North-West, there is a great temptation to resist aggression by meeting the enemy far away from our frontiers. Such a policy may dazzle many with the magnificence of its ambition, but in the true interests of both countries, we beseech you not to be led away by such prospects from the paths of ascertained safety, which require that the Indian empire should be self-sustained and independent of the fleeting changes in the foreign policy of other nations. It has been proposed to add largely to the British garrison in this country, involving it by reason of such addition in unforeseen financial and political troubles. Such an addition will permanently increase the military expenditure by two or three millions annually, and an utterly unbearable drain on our resources will be the consequence. If the rulers of India trust its people, give them higher military education, arm them properly, if they form national reserves out of the armies of Native States, instead of distrusting them, and take the Indian Princes into their complete confidence, no danger whatsoever need be apprehended from any Asiatic or any European power. This policy has been recommended by great Indian authorities as the only sound one to follow, and all departures from it have led and will lead to disastrous results. The increase of military charges will further impoverish the country, poor as it has grown already, and by crippling the Government in its necessary home expenditure, retard the development of internal resources. The late Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon, with rare foresight understood the needs of India both at home and abroad, and the demonstrations which greeted his departure affixed the seal of popular recognition to the wisdom of the course followed by him. As one effect of his beneficent administration, when your relations with Russia assumed a critical turn last year, Princes and people volunteered to place at the disposal of Government all their resources with a devotion which no success, however brilliant in military operations, could have ensured. The military charges in India are heavy enough already, and if unfortunately the country is to be launched on remote undertakings, it is but just not to saddle the cost on India's exhausted resources, but at least to make the whole British empire share the burden. Remember that your colonies in all quarters of the world are protected by you from foreign aggression at your own cost, while they enjoy the most complete internal freedom. It also rests with you, as the ultimate source of all power, to enforce through those whom you will select to represent you in the coming Parliament, peace, retrenchment and a wide extension of native agency generally in the administration as the most just and safest policy to pursue for the rulers of this country.

7. In regard to internal reform, the detailed measures will be suggested by the results of the inquiry which, if you insist upon it, must shortly take place. The general scope of these reforms must be on the lines adopted by your government from time to time in dealing with your large colonial possessions. India, governed as it is, may be too large for similar treatment, but there would

be no difficulty if its larger divisions were formed into federal States on the lines advocated by the Right Hon. Mr. Bright. The burden of responsibility will then be fairly divided, economy will be enforced, and healthy emulation will spring up. The Indian Secretary of State, like the Colonial Secretary, will then be able to govern this country without a Council of his own. The way for a reform like this has been prepared to some extent by that most important measure of financial decentralisation which was introduced during the regime of the late lamented Earl of Mayo. The reform above stated would itself probably have been adopted in 1858, but for the urgency of the situation which rendered it impossible to do anything but patch up the then defunct organisation. The time has now come when, by reason of the advances that have been made on all sides, this great reform may be safely attempted, and if you will make your voice clearly heard at the coming elections, and issue your mandate to the candidates to insist upon Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform, as your watchwords in the interests of this country, you will have done what lies in your power to give effect to the unredeemed pledges of former generations.

8. The working men of England and the other important classes recently enfranchised have a common interest with the people of this country in avoiding ambitious wars and in developing internal resources. This community of interests and sympathy is the link of union which joins you with us indissolubly. As a free and enlightened people you you have achieved eternal glory by the abolition of slavery, and by colonising half the world with the surplus of your population, and endowing it with freedom. Your mission in India is equally noble and catholic in character. May the blessings of God attend upon you in this noble work, and enable you to rule over India as an instrument in His hands to carry out His purpose of elevating the people of this land, by a just and beneficent discharge of the trust confided to your care, and to help them to attain to an equality with your own higher status among the civilized Nations of the World.

MEMORANDUM OF INSTRUCTIONS TO THE MADRAS DELEGATE BY RAJAH SIR T. MADAVA ROW.

The Madras Delegate should devote himself to the *main* object in view, *viz.*, to interest the people of Great Britain in the welfare of India.

He should not identify himself with any one of the political parties in England.

That party is the best which *does its best for the welfare of India.* This is the main line to be followed.

If Lord Ripon be dear to India, it is not because he is a Liberal, but simply because he is so earnest in promoting India's welfare.

Act in *consultation* with the other delegates, in view to avoid divergencies and to ensure *concert* and harmony.

Gratefully acknowledge the great good which British Government have done to India.

Call for greater interest and sympathy in and for Indian affairs, greater respect and regard for Indian feelings and opinions generally.

Show that India possesses greater political intelligence than ever before.

Plead *generally for moderate taxation of necessaries of life* and *for greater security of landed tenures.*

Dwell on the value of India to England and the value of England to India.

While stating *aims* and *aspirations* show reliance on British *wisdom, justice,* and *benevolence,*

Say we want our views and feelings regarding Indian matters to be better recognized and respected in the local administration.

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AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

TO THE

ELECTORS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

It has pleased Providence to entrust the well-being of the many millions of the people of this country as a sacred charge to your keeping. In numbers we form one-sixth of the human race, your kith and kin, bound to you by all that is sacred and true, and yet we have no voice nor vote in the great Council of the State which determines in the last resort the policy of the Government which, on your behalf, holds sway over this land, and maintains peace and order. Shortly before the time when your rule was established in this country, we were passing through a critical stage of our history, and, as always happens on the eve of great impending changes, we stood on the brink of a most uncertain future which, our national traditions of civil freedom and higher education seemed powerless to avert. It was then that the high purpose which has knit together your great nation with ours first brought about that connection which in its ultimate development and by the noble aims to which it has been made subservient by the wisest exponents of your beneficent policy towards this country, has shed a lustre on the British name, while it has tended to secure for us peace and some of the greatest blessings of a settled government. The principle of equal and just laws, the seeds of education sown throughout the land, the precious freedom of thought and action allowed to us as individuals and associated bodies, the noble influence of your language and literature, the discipline of the institutions of self-government conferred upon the people, your solicitude for promoting our material advance, the breathing of a new spirit of renovated life, and the principle of union fostered by your imperial rule,—these have contributed, each in its own degree, to reconcile us to the sway of a nation rich with the inheritance of freedom, and ages of unimpeded progress. Though, under present circumstances, we are allowed no voice in the determination of our political destinies, we feel that we are not entirely helpless as long as we can appeal to you, the enfranchised Electors of Great Britain and Ireland.

2. This confidence on our part is justified by the repeated proofs afforded in the chequered history of the past one hundred years of the great solicitude, when effectively roused to your duty towards this country, which you have felt for our well-being, so indissolubly united with your own. We have seen how, through your representatives in Parliament, you turned to noble account the enterprise of your merchant traders, how when these early adventurers exceeded their powers, you interfered to regulate their higher functions, and scrupled not to denounce the highest servants of the Company in India. We know how you insisted on the abolition of trade monopolies, when these became incompatible with the due discharge of higher trusts, how, at each recurring interval, you devised measures for the promotion of education and the development of material resources, how you opened the Civil Service to competition, how, after the great Mutiny, you protected our Princes and Chiefs from threatened destruction, and selected a few of our best men to high judicial offices, and associated us to some extent in the work of Government as Municipal Commissioners, jurors and assessors and as members of the Legislative Councils. Nearly twenty-five years have elapsed since the last of

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these great reforms was accomplished, and we feel satisfied that you will agree with us in thinking that the time has now arrived for a fresh advance, after a due enquiry into the net results of the changes that have taken place during the interval.

3. The present is a most opportune moment for thus taking stock of the results which have been achieved in the past. More vividly than on any previous occasion, the value of the connection which subsists between the two countries has been forced upon your attention by recent events. India forms the pivot round which moves the entire imperial or foreign policy of England. Your interests in the fortunes of Central Asia, in Turkey, in Egypt, in the Soudan, in South Africa, in distant China, all centre round your care for the possession of this country. For the first time your insulation which had often been regarded as justifying indifference to the movements of the great European powers has ceased to exist, and some of those powers have extended the limits of their possessions within close vicinity to your Indian frontiers. How to safe-guard your Indian interests is the question of the hour, which you are called upon to decide in a way worthy of your place among nations. Indian topics will form the chief planks of your political platform, on which in a thousand places those who lead and form public opinion will address you, when they seek your votes. Your constituencies have been by recent legislation increased in numbers and strength, and now, more than ever before, the great mass of the working classes in town and country will realise both their powers and responsibilities. These special considerations encourage us to hope that the work, so nobly undertaken in the past, will be continued by you in the present with a full sense of the sacred trust laid upon you. No new principles have to be laid down. Your work will chiefly be to enforce the principles that have been repeatedly declared by our Gracious Sovereign and Parliament as binding upon your servants here in their administration of this great empire.

4. Manifold pledges most solemnly given remain unredeemed, and we have to look to you for their fulfilment. The settlement of the land question on a permanent footing, though ordered by many of the highest authorities twenty years ago, is still as far from being satisfactorily effected as ever it was before. The civil and military services, both covenanted and uncovenanted, remain practically closed to the Natives of the country in their higher grades, causing an exhausting and serious material and moral drain on the country. The unequal distribution of the home charges is still unrectified. The industrial development of the country is to a great extent in foreign hands, the Legislative Councils are as unrepresentative as before of Native interests. The visitations of famine are unchecked in their severity. The people are disarmed and dangerously demartialized, until the country is deprived of its true defence. The taxes are trenching upon the margin of subsistence, while no national reserve of men or means exists to meet outside attacks, and the practical administration of Government being foreign is naturally to a great extent undiscerning and unsympathetic. These great evils exist and grow side by side with a keener consciousness on the part of the people of the injustice involved, and a diminution of the warm attachment which the Anglo-Indian ruling classes once felt for the people of this country. These elements of weakness at home are complicated by threats of attack from abroad. You will thus see that the situation is as critical as ever it could be, and it behoves you to give thought to it, and enforce the necessary changes which a detailed and thorough enquiry may suggest to your wisdom as necessary.

5. Our first prayer to you, therefore, is that you will require a pledge, from every candidate who seeks your confidence, to the effect that he will, when the next Parliament meets, press for a commission of enquiry to be appointed at once, according to former practice, and also for a periodical repetition of such inquiries hereafter. The present Ministry have admitted the necessity of such an enquiry, and the voice of English public opinion supports our demand. Therefore, whatever party comes into power, we earnestly pray that you will insist through your representatives that this our first prayer shall be under all circumstances, conceded by men of all parties.

6. In view of the threatened troubles in the North-West, there is a great tempta-

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tion to resist aggression by meeting the enemy far away from our frontiers. Such a policy may dazzle many with the magnificence of its ambition, but in the true interests of both countries, we beseech you not to be led away by such prospects from the paths of ascertained safety, which require that the Indian empire should be self-sustained and independent of the fleeting changes in the foreign policy of other Nations. It has been proposed to add largely to the British garrison in this country, involving it by reason of such addition in unforeseen financial and political troubles. Such an addition will permanently increase the military expenditure by two or three millions annually, and an utterly unbearable drain on our resources will be the consequence. If the rulers of India trust its people, give them higher military education, arm them properly, if they form national reserves out of the armies of Native States, instead of distrusting them and take the Indian Princes into their complete confidence, no danger whatsoever need be apprehended from any Asiatic or any European power. This policy has been recommended by great Indian authorities as the only sound one to follow, and all departures from it have led and will lead to disastrous results. The increase of military charges will further impoverish the country, poor as it has grown already, and by crippling the Government in its necessary home expenditure, retard the development of internal resources. The late Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon, with rare foresight understood the needs of India both at home and abroad, and the demonstrations which greeted his departure affixed the seal of popular recognition to the wisdom of the course followed by him. As one effect of his beneficent administration, when your relations with Russia assumed a critical turn last year, Princes and people volunteered to place at the disposal of Government all their resources with a devotion which no success, however brilliant in military operations, could have ensured. The military charges in India are heavy enough already, and if unfortunately the country is to be launched on remote undertakings, it is but just not to saddle the cost on India's exhausted resources, but at least to make the whole British empire share the burden. Remember that your colonies in all quarters of the world are protected by you from foreign aggression at your own cost, while they enjoy the most complete internal freedom. It also rests with you, as the ultimate source of all power, to enforce through those whom you will select to represent you in the coming Parliament, peace, retrenchment and a wide extension of native agency generally in the administration as the most just and safest policy to pursue for the rulers of this country.

7. In regard to internal reform, the detailed measures will be suggested by the results of the inquiry which, if you insist upon it, must shortly take place. The general scope of these reforms must be on the lines adopted by your government from time to time in dealing with your large colonial possessions. India, governed as it is, may be too large for similar treatment, but there would be no difficulty if its larger divisions were formed into federal States on the lines advocated by the Right Hon. Mr. Bright. The burden of responsibility will then be fairly divided, economy will be enforced, and healthy emulation will spring up. The Indian Secretary of State, like the Colonial Secretary, will then be able to govern this country without a Council of his own. The way for a reform like this has been prepared to some extent by that most important measure of financial decentralisation which was introduced during the regime of the late lamented Earl of Mayo. The reform above stated would itself probably have been adopted in 1858, but for the urgency of the situation which rendered it impossible to do anything but patch up the then defunct organisation. The time has now come when, by reason of the advances that have been made on all sides, this great reform may be safely attempted, and if you will make your voice clearly heard at the coming elections, and issue your mandate to the candidates to insist upon Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform, as your watchwords in the interests of this country, you will have done what lies in your power to give effect to the unredeemed pledges of former generations.

8. The working men of England and the other important classes recently enfranchised have a common interest with the people of this country in avoiding ambitious wars and in developing internal resources. This community of interests and sympathy is the link of union which joins you with us indissolubly. As a free and enlightened people you have

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achieved eternal glory by the abolition of slavery, and by colonising half the world with the surplus of your population, and endowing it with freedom. Your mission in India is equally noble and catholic in character. May the blessings of God attend upon you in this noble work, and enable you to rule over India as an instrument in His hands to carry out His purpose of elevating the people of this land, by a just and beneficent discharge of the trust confided to your care, and to help them to attain to an equality with your own higher status among the civilized Nations of the world.

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